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WAYS OF TRANSITION—TOWARDS CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE : by Patrick Geddes.

I.

VARIOUS readers of these preceding papers—and particularly of the main one—"The Interpretation of Current Events" (SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, April, 1929), and following out its introductory viewpoint—"Rural and Urban Thought" (SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, January, 1929), have asked for further indications of how the social transition therein outlined can be expressed in practice. They say—and justly enough—even assuming that the two diagrammatic presentments there graphically outlined (and here repeated face to face) may be reasonably justified, how can the suggested progress be practically made, from the one, to—or towards—the other? Given now the prevalent system of society, outlined on the left side (as IX.), still largely extending practically everywhere more or less, and as essentially of Militaristic, Statist and Mechanistic elements firmly interwoven, and with their respective ideas and resultant outcomes accordingly—how are passages definitely to be made to the more desirable order of things correspondingly outlined upon the further diagram, so symmetrically contrasted, square for square? Thus, how are we to get from Wardom to Peacedom? and from the exciting Nationalisms and Imperialisms of the first to peaceful Regional and Civic developments in the second? Who can gainsay—much less modify—the powers and permanence of the State, in its customary sense, with its long established conception of the Individual? And how are the associated conceptions, of Laws and Rights, with the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity of individuals—in fact how is its whole philosophy—mostly of metaphysical abstractions—to be brought into the concrete conception of Evolution, alike in theory and practice? How are we to pass from Mechanistic and Opportunist Politics to an adequately progressive Transition? and by help of what better Interpretation accordingly? Again, while the powers—and the costs—of Bureaucracy are ever increasing in every country's budget, and this despite all criticisms, all promises and attempts at retrenchment, what can be done towards abatements?

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(a). "Three States" (as I.X.)

IX.

<div> <div>ARMAMENTS</div> <div>FEAR</div> </div> <div> <div>WAR</div> <div>HATE</div> </div>	<div> <div>POLITICS (MECHANISTIC)</div> <div>POLITICS (OP-PORTUNIST)</div> </div>	<div> <div>INDUSTRY (MECHANOTECHNIC)</div> <div>SCIENCE (MECHANISTIC)</div> </div>
<div> <div>NATIONS, EMPIRES</div> <div>NATIONALISM</div> <div>"Dieu et mon Droit!"</div> <div>"Gott mit Uns!"</div> <div>"America! America!"</div> <div>etc.</div> </div>	<div> <div>STATE & INDIVIDUAL</div> <div>STATISM & INDIVIDUALISM</div> <div>LAW (Rights &c.)</div> </div>	<div> <div>BUSINESS</div> <div>POLITICAL ECONOMY</div> <div>Individualist</div> <div>Fascist</div> <div>Bolshevik</div> <div>Socialist</div> </div>
<div> <div>MILITANCY (Rapine)</div> <div>THEOLOGICAL INTER-PRETATION</div> </div>	<div> <div>BUREAUCRACY (Taxation)</div> <div>PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</div> </div>	<div> <div>FINANCE (Profits)</div> <div>MONEY ACCOUNTANCY</div> <div>\$, £, fr., mk.</div> </div>

WAYS OF TRANSITION—TOWARDS CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE

9.

(b). Three further States (as 9).

<p><i>(Forestry, Agriculture, Horticulture, &c. Medicine & Public Health, &c.)</i></p> <p>BIOTECHNICS</p> <p>SCIENCE (BIO- LOGICAL & PSYCHOLOGICAL)</p>	<p>TRANSITION (SOCIAL)</p> <p>INTERPRETATION (SOCIAL)</p>	<p>PEACE-WAR & EQUIP- MENT</p> <p>HELPCILL & HOPE</p>
<p>SOCIAL SERVICE</p> <p>SOCIAL ECONOMY <i>(Place, Work, Folk. Folk, Work, Place.)</i></p>	<p>SYNERGY IN GEOTECHNICS</p> <p>COSMOGENY (Evolution) in (Place, Work, Folk)</p>	<p>REGION & CITY</p> <p>REGIONALISM & CIVICS in (Folk, Work, Place)</p>
<p>DIRECTION (SOCIAL)</p> <p>LIFE- ACCOUNTANCY <i>(Days, Years, Lives)</i></p>	<p>SOCIANS (SOCALLY EFFICIENT</p> <p>RE-EDUCATION <i>(Occupational, Synthetic, &c.)</i></p>	<p><i>(Folk, Work, Place) in</i></p> <p>ETHO-POLITY</p> <p>EU-PSYCHICS <i>in (Good, True, Beautiful)</i></p>

And, similarly, how modify what it calls Education? Again, while Mechanistic Industries are ever advancing, and with the indeed yet more marvellous advances of the mechanical, physical and chemical sciences, what method, and what hope, for subordination of all these, as here suggested, to Biotechnic arts, and to the sciences of Life? With Business ever expanding, and its various doctrines of Political Economy—Individualistic and Socialistic, Bolshevik and Fascist—each more and more insistent and powerful, what hope for the old-time dream of Social Economy, or place for its seeming utopian theories? And, beyond all, what can be thought of, or devised, much less applied, to abate the ever-increasing world-domination of Finance, with its accepted faith in Money, as supreme and quint-essential Power, to and by which the essential prayers (i.e., of aspiration) of civilised men seem ever more convincingly directed?

II.

LITTLE wonder then that these papers as yet arouse but little interest, and that their invitation towards co-operation, not only in discussion, but in practical endeavour towards the opposite system as here outlined in symmetrical contrast, should meet with but little response. Yet that little is something. Furthermore it can readily be seen, indeed more and more fully (1) that the predominant system no longer satisfies men's minds as fully as it did; (2) that these comprehensive and diametric changes here suggested are more or less in actual progress around us; next (3) that it is possible, and indeed not infrequent, to take one's part in one or more of these changes at least, experimentally and practically, and without insuperable difficulties. If so, it is not unreasonable to hope that more minds may gradually be convinced, by one or all of these arguments, that such changes are worth consideration; and even that participation in them is worth trying, and not without result.

III.

BUT how are we to bring these three hopeful propositions clearly home to common sense and to experience? The first two answers are readily afforded by the observant scanning not only of current literature, but the newspapers; for hardly a day passes without their offering us striking examples of these two changes, and as in active progress. First of all do not the caricatures catch our eyes—and do not all but the youngest memories (and here of course best the eldest) recall the vast development of this, and in the press of all the countries and languages we may know; and even increasingly among their more serious journals and reviews? And the like even of satire as well? And does not this increasing supply, with its ever widening irreverence for the predominant order, express an increasing demand?—and both

of course a changing attitude of public opinion, and with each rising generation more particularly? Recall a salient example from the main paper. Thus in France, most official ridden of all countries, the bureaucrats (an old term of derision) have had their stability, and also the measure of their usual openness to ideas, mocked at, as "Ronds de cuir" (stool-covers), long before Courteline's highly successful tragic farce thus named. For their impressive dignity "Mandarins" is an old and familiar nickname; while for their essential aspect and result to the increasingly burdened taxpayer, he calls them "Budgetivores." Again the Public Instruction which they so authoritatively provide, inspect and examine, has long been under a like fire of criticism and satire, and at all its levels, from primary and secondary schools to the Sorbonne and the Collège de France; and all this with increasing severity, as from Faguet's "Le Culte de l'Incompétence" to the no less sweeping judgment—a tiger-stroke indeed—in old Clemenceau's weighty intellectual testament, "Au Soir de la Pensée."

IV.

It may fairly be answered that satire, caricature and criticism can effect nothing without reconstructive endeavours: yet again the current press shows that these are beginning. Thus in view of the steady increasing and overloading of budgets, by millions annually, which parliaments can no longer effectively control, a "Taxpayer's Congress" has recently been taking form at Paris; no doubt at first with ineffectual protest, yet also decided purpose, in fact recalling the early impulse towards our own House of Commons. And so too for Public Instruction. Towards mitigation of the overwhelming burdens of cram and exam imposed upon school children, and on girls especially, we note that the Tardieu Government has granted a Commission of Enquiry, and that no less an authority than Madame Curie has taken up their cause, and with devastating as well as radiant force in evidence.

SPACE alone prevents bringing forward beginnings of change manifesting themselves in all the other squares of the left-hand diagram: witness however the increasing development of the League of Nations and its associated departments and activities (Labour, Public Health, Intellectual Relations, &c.) and with kindred organisations and advances, of which the Hague Court, the Kellogg Pact, &c., are but the best known. Other changes, not only in germ, but often in progress, from each square towards its contrast, might also be cited; e.g., the growth of Economic, Regional, Civic, and University developments, despite all metropolitan centralisation, and indeed with its hostility abating. As a more conspicuous example, note the contemporary arousal, alike of British, Continental and American Churches

to active interest in social questions, as with "Copec" and "Stockholm"—a new international Review of social questions; and these now need but contact with the earlier and more synthetic doctrines and endeavours of Le Play and his various groups of continuators, mostly, but not entirely in Catholic circles, to reach fuller effectiveness of survey, interpretation and influence.

YET to the vast majority of every nation the conception and temporal power of the State is all-central; so it is here encouraging to note that its constructive and geotechnic services are increasing. Thus the Nile-dam outweighs the angry momentary threat of Nile deprivation after the Sirdar's assassination; and the like irrigation works, from Madras rivers to Indus, surpass even those to Indian forestry, roads and railways. Again the present forestry scheme for Britain is an earnest of further rural reconstruction, with abatement of unemployment and its increasing doles. Correspondingly the new French government of M. Tardieu announces "*Le Perfectionnement de l'Outillage National*," with constructive aids not only for roads, ports, &c., but also to agricultural and village services; all geotechnic, and not without evolutionary bearings. In fascist Italy, and in dictatured Spain, notable kindred advances are manifest; and even in Russia there are signs that the depression and repression of peasant communities include an aim of reconstructive measures, even if urbanly mistaken ones.

V.

WITHOUT further amplifying the above examples of (1) criticism of the older order, and (2) of transition towards the newer and more vital, we may now pass to the final question outlined above, (3) of how individual (and group) transitions may be initiated or participated in, and without waiting for political changes, or seeking support from the State or other main elements of the predominant social system.

THOSE who desire changes are in these times of main different and often divergent schools, in all classes, all professions, and often also across them. Each has its programme, so far as aims are concerned; yet since means of realising them are not so easy to discern, much less design, the majority as yet incline to more or less revolutionary methods: the more since youth, between idealism and inexperience, and with physical energies strong yet undisciplined to regularised efforts, is ever tempted to realise its aims by force, and use this against what are or seem their obstacles. Recall throughout history how many parties of strong convictions of any kind, political or religious, have been injured and delayed in their progress by the resort to violence by their hotheads. Each new banner has commonly had too much of the warlike red; but it is surely full time for the white of peace, the green of life. As an encouraging example of this may be

cited a recent group of French Communists, a party as yet in the mass so threatening. For at Puch (Lot et Garonne), its members announced their conviction that nothing is to be accomplished by force, but only by a peaceful policy, of experimental demonstration, of survival towards success. So they have united their funds to buying and stocking a farm, and are cultivating it in communitary fashion, and with printing-press and other industries to utilise their spare time from rural labour. They are thus producing according to their powers, and consuming according to their needs; and surviving withal, and apparently so far with more success than that of most previous endeavours of this kind. Do not such peaceful and praiseworthy endeavours point towards a not improbable repetition of the history of the Socialist movement, which in western countries has so largely come into power by consistently living down—and increasingly by constructive endeavours—that dread of revolutionary violence which some of its first enthusiasts created. Indeed, must we not explain the favourable reports of some visitors to Soviet Russia by the fact that a good many reconstructive endeavours are coming forward?

BUT for us, as students of contemporary social evolution, who would fain take our part in useful and progressive tasks, and who see that more of constructive thought and helpwill are needed than any single party or coalition has yet offered us, what clearer outlooks are possible, and what constructive endeavours? These questions have of course mainly as yet to be answered by each of us separately, from his own thought and life, each by turns helping and advancing the other. And is it not encouraging that throughout the long recorded past so many such examples of thought and action stand out in history and biography; and that, despite all its defects and evils, our industrial age has been increasingly rich in these: and indeed far richer still, as family and individual memories show, in unrecorded lives, each so far of kindred contributions and values, influences and incentives to those around them.

HERE in fact is a theme on which much might be written, since disclosing many lives of useful influence and application to the needs of our times. In fact what embarrassing wealth of materials, say in the record of the Society of Friends, in the long struggles of Lord Shaftesbury, the initiatives of Dr. Chalmers, of Ruskin, and many more. Consider how many quietly fruitful lives, like those of Octavia Hill, Arnold Toynbee, and the Barnetts, with the many who have aided them. And so for seeming extremer types, like Kropotkin and Reclus, saints of anarchist idealism and endeavour, or again those of more conservative faiths and parties. And of course the like in almost every country, and each with its own contributions. To take types more akin to these than may appear at first sight, pass from these two initiative geographers to geotects like Bishop Gruntvig and Horace

Plunkett, while Kropotkin's *FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS* is an example of their common link ; and George Russell's (A.E.) combination of regional agriculture, art and poetry is another.

Is not the Boy Scout's daily "good turn" the promise and initial preparation of an opening generation of increased helpwill ? Despite all the logical keenness and critical sharpness of political and other differences in France, the "Union Sacrée" of all parties and faiths during the war has not altogether broken down since peace-time. Thus, for single instance, "le Redressement Français"—the party of M. Lucien Romier, whose socially interpretative books have once and again been so favourably reviewed in these columns—gains adherents from very different parties, and to its "Politique de Bonne Humeur." There was some years ago (we trust still in existence) an encyclopedic *YEAR-BOOK OF SOCIAL PROGRESS*, with wellnigh innumerable evidences of good intentions carried into endeavours of all kinds ; through plainly calling for more and more of organising minds toward grouping, harmonising and synergising them.

So how are we to get this union of helpwilled activities a step clearer ? One way of testing our graphic scheme is by seeing how far each of the above-cited examples of constructive social endeavour may be interpreted in terms of our diagrams, and as evidences of more or less successful transition from the first to the second (IX to 9). It will readily be seen that each main endeavour is thus intelligibly located by its particular square, though each career is usually in more than one, sometimes—and why not—in wellnigh all.

BUT it is not enough to cite distinguished instances : the problem ultimately comes down to our own individual lives, which have generally more or less started, and more or less been brought up and educated, among the left-hand squares ; and these have still of course some hold upon us, however we may have more or less consciously (or even unconsciously) passed over to the opposite side. Here in fact we might gain much by a symposium, or even (say) a questionnaire, if one could devise it. For this would bring out early experience and education, so far doubtless conventional, yet at least with vital impulse and opportunities towards convalescence and change. Hence it is that from (say) a classical education mainly dead, one may recover—say at Athens or Olympia, at Rome or at the Lake of Nemi, and find vital initiation into its spirit ; or more simply, as Heine did, before the Venus of Milo in the Louvre. A main step is the rebound from our past mis-instruction and its verbalistic empaperment, towards reaching the real things, in their interconnection and movement, below the otherwise empty vocables ; and this may be done by way of any and every science, or from practice of their related arts and applications. For while the superstition of the mis-instruction system of the left-hand scheme is still but of learning perverted to memorising, and this

tested by examinations, the essential facts appear on the other side. For one learns through interest—i.e., emotioned ideation—so absent in mis-taught mathematics, from multiplication-table parroted and onwards; yet nowhere more manifest than in the glorious intoxication of the high intellectual dance of the mathematical thinker and the true teacher, whom we have known as impassioned as can be a noble actor-singer or musician. These are indeed deeply akin, since alike votaries of Terpsichore, whether they realise it or no: for each notation of music is as finely mathematical as well as physical notation, the science and the art thus knit together since Pythagoras' day. And as this was done in what we must nowadays call his laboratory, so with all later true learning, which should never be divorced from the vital tasks of life—all of it experimental, and towards fresh ideas, as well as from present or past ones, little though some would-be "practical men" (not the real ones) see this. How every occupation thus normally leads up into art and deep into science has often been justified in detail, so that we learn by living—*vivendo discimus*. It is in fact in the measure of this that good school and college teaching becomes effective, since each and every "subject" is guided by one of the muses, and thus is Musement; each in turn an elaborate perfection of amusement, of actual "play," again witness music and its graphics. That the advance of every science, from mathematics onwards is towards graphic presentment, from concrete astronomy and geography to their underlying physical, mechanical and chemical enquiries and discoveries is plainly manifest. So too in biology, since Linnæus arranged his herbarium and museum to his "System of Nature," and since Goethe clarified morphology, and concretely re-established Plato's previously too metaphysical "archetypes." Progress beyond these relatively simple graphics to more complex graphings, of inorganic and organic phenomena throughout their changes, is a broad and brief but fully verifiable summary of the main advances of our time; so to graph the processes of organic life itself throughout their protean manifestations summarises the task before all evolutionists.

How the like is true for sociology is again manifest, as so familiarly statistics, onwards from Quetelet. But so too we have to carry on: hence attempts at graphing social life-processes, and in harmony with those of the organic life from which these have sprung, is the task and method of so many papers in this REVIEW and its preceding volumes. And just as the musician plays his score, so from simplest mechanic to complex shipbuilder, architect, or city planner, each works out his corresponding graphics, here called drawings: and thus, indeed most complexly and swiftly of all, the military strategist and tactician organises his victory; or abates his defeat, and learns from it too.

IN some ways indeed, war is most instructive of all; and—though pacifists are apt to miss this—thus it was that Jean de Bloch (the

railway-planner of Poland) worked out his great book—*LA GUERRE*, which stirred the late Czar to his best achievement, the initiative of the Hague Court ; and which also, many years before it happened, predicted and formulated the great war, with its prolonged mutual exhaustion in trenches. Indeed as privileged to bring graphic resources and workers from our Edinburgh Outlook Tower to his assistance in his War Museum Gallery in the Paris Exposition of 1900, one can peculiarly testify to that geographic and graphic clearness of his thinking—too soon lost, but still unsurpassed towards the cause of peace—and indeed towards other elements of our second graph, associated with it.

VI.

WE thus come to the more personal answer demanded, of justification in experimental endeavour ; so first towards Re-Education. In kindred ways has arisen the arrangement of our Outlook Tower, with its definite adjustment, storey by storey downwards.* First in its turret, overlooking City and Region, with a Camera Obscura within, so, helpful towards acquiring the artist's appreciatively emotioned outlook : and, outside and around this, an open-air gallery for the same view, affords the corresponding direct observation of the geographer and the astronomer. Below this, on and around the flat roof-terrace, the specific outlooks of the separate sciences—here seen as the analyses (geolyses) of geography and astronomy, (so astrolyses as well), at their simplest and broadest ; hence each with its earliest and simplest apparatus, occupying an embrasure of its battlement, a minimum of space. A telescope about the scale of Galileo's is enough to repeat for each observer the wonder of that memorable night when he first discerned the satellites of Jupiter and the mountains of the Moon. With this come naturally the usual astronomic and geographic globes, supplemented by M. Galeron's invaluable hollow astronomic globe (simply anticipating Zeiss's great projection of the heavens), and also the geographic world-transparency (Episcopes) of Paul Reclus, showing the whole world below the horizon to the Antipodes ; and thus with each country and its most important places in their true perspective as if seen through the earth below the observer's eyes.

THUS observantly and clearly oriented to near and far, on the world, in the solar system, and to stellar space, the markings of an orientation-table around the parapet bring out the location of familiar places up to or beyond the horizon. With the general situation of our survey thus clearly realised, and in its relativity to world and universe accordingly, it is then time to analyse the phenomena of geography and astronomy into their essential "sciences" (thus seen as so many

* See the writer's *A CIVIC MUSEUM, SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS*, vol. II. Also, Charles Zueblin, *THE WORLD'S FIRST SOCIOLOGICAL LABORATORY*, *AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL JOURNAL*, 1904.

geolyses, and astrolyses). Hence along the inner sides of the parapet wall are painted a series of geologic sections of the surrounding landscape, into which we thus learn to see ; while the elementary meteorological apparatus, of thermometer, barometer, anemometer, &c., serve to give the first initiation to the observation of weather and climate phenomena, with some realisation of their earth-changing action. The open embrasures between battlements of the parapet-wall, are thus turned from romantic memories of war to serve as outlooks of science after science, and each is furnished with appropriate earliest apparatus : thus a water-bottle-lens, a small prism, and pin-hole camera for optics ; a bit of amber (electron) to rub for electricity, and a fragment of loadstone and a magnetised needle floating in a saucer for magnetism ; a stretched Aeolian wire, an ear-trumpet and a small megaphone for acoustics, and so on. In short, for each of the physical sciences, an impulse towards observation and experimental study—as the right way, instead of starting with reading, yet suggestive towards this.

THE living and simple introduction to the biological sciences is afforded by a dove-cote and the secretary's small covered-in roof-garden of active growth and flower, which has only needed the addition of the symbolic egg of evolution hanging above, and the local herbarium on a table, with pickled serpent on shelf below, to express the needful static collections of the science. For the introduction to social studies there opens from this the adjacent further outlook over the varied aspects of the old city, beside, but distinct from, the open flag-turret of nationalism, oratory and war. Finally, the opposite turret, only roof-lit, invites that individual reflection by which observation yields understanding and productivity, whether in arts or letters, science or action.

HERE then are introductions to most of the main viewpoints of inorganic nature, organic and social life, and education ; and all as needed for and contributing to better understanding and clearer action on the various levels indicated in the storeys below. First then, that of the City ; here illustrated throughout its historic development, below a painted frieze, and around a large relief-model of its site and neighbourhood, from sea to hills. The series of illustration begins with neolithic cultivation-terraces, the early beginnings of local civilisation ; and soon comes the Roman port and fortress, at river-mouth not far away. The growth and vicissitudes of the City, in Medieval times, in earlier to latest Renaissance times, and through the Industrial age, and so to its present best and worst features, are thus clearly presented, and the series closes with recent neighbouring developments here effected, or suggested for the opening future. Towards realising something of these, the adjacent business and draughtsman's room has for many years been of service, alike as regards city improvement and sanitation, architecture and town-planning, &c. Thus the Cities

and Town-Planning Exhibition has here mainly been organised, now for so many years on its rounds through the galleries of London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Belfast, Ghent, and Dublin again, and of six Indian capitals, and also of Paris and Jerusalem. Various other exhibitions, and the masques and plays, pageantings and festivals organised by the Tower, also its various gardens throughout the Old Town, have had their origin on this level, of civic studies and their applications.

BELOW this City collection and unofficial office, there naturally follows a kindred outline exhibition of the geographic, historic and other interests of Scotland; and below this again was formerly a collection illustrative of the English-speaking world, thus including the Unistates, and now borrowed for the Town Planning Exhibition.

THE next lower storey, marked *Occident*, has, as its main feature, a long graphic chart of the history of Europe from early times, especially from the rise and growth of the Roman Empire and onwards, through wars and war-peace, to the present century; and with beginnings of reference library. There, for many years, until the War, a Current Events Club conducted its discussions, and preserved a valuable series of press-cuttings, which it is hoped may again be continued. Below this come beginnings of studies of the Orient, both in Near and Far East. With these storeys have been associated various activities as well, ranging from the various active participations of the Tower in the Paris Exhibition of 1900, to earlier and later activities, as especially in Cyprus, in India and in Palestine. This whole series of outline surveys concludes (as also opens from the street) with a world-globe, and other geographic and historic indications, symbolic ones also.

HERE, then, is an educational outline, the beginnings of a graphic encyclopedia of viewpoints, and of introductions to the studies they awaken, from observation and beginnings of interpretation of physical and organic and social studies. And similarly for many of their normally associated activities, and these in orderly extension from the immediate neighbourhood to city and region, to country and language-area, to occident, orient and world. Despite its inevitable smallness and imperfections—since developed and carried on with but the merest fraction of the resources of museums or exhibitions elsewhere—its principles of outline indication and orientation have often been found suggestive to teachers, students, and other visitors, since a varied, yet organised set of indications towards studious and active citizenship, and this widening throughout the world. Its Vacation Courses (the earliest in Europe) and its other educational endeavours have thus been incentive to many others; and its outline survey has practically initiated the movement of Regional and City Surveys, since so actively prosecuted, as first in Oxford, by one of our earliest

workers, the late Prof. Herbertson, and throughout Britain, America, and other countries, and increasingly in association with town-planning and city development. As also the needed observational introduction to sociology, these surveys are now more fully carried on elsewhere, as notably in America, and at Leplay House in London; while its scheme of University Halls of Residence has also developed in and from Edinburgh to Chelsea, to Paris, &c., and is again beginning in these recent years here at Montpellier.

So far then the main concrete outline of an—at first sight seeming dispersive, yet none the less seriously synthetised—life-endeavour towards the co-ordination of studies, on lines at once vital and rational; and these definitely in association with educational progress, primary, secondary and higher, since in connection with social activities and widening citizenship, extending in co-operation and service, throughout ever-widening fields. Briefly stated, the endeavour has been to bring the problems of thought and the tasks of life more and more effectively together, and towards fruitful interaction. The observant and interpretative endeavours of each of the sciences thus become suggestive towards related activities in life; and these again are experimentally helpful to clearer thought in turn.

VII.

YET before leaving this Outlook Tower, with its outline-suggestion towards Re-Education—and this not only primary and secondary but higher also—and also addressed to adult citizenship, of both sexes—let us summarise the outlooks it aids the acquirement of; and each through some practical experience, and towards further application. It will thus be more clearly seen that we are working towards a new form of College—and one readily and inexpensively adaptable anywhere.

THESE outlooks, so far, are more than a score—of course each and all independently in progress in the city and university around us, and more or less in all others as well; but here claiming application in educational practice; and meantime helpful in self-re-education, and in social endeavour. Hence, beginning with the art of seeing, we seek to arouse or to enrich geographic and astronomic outlooks by the seeing of their beauty, helped by the Camera. Towards more understanding of our inorganic environment we aim at the simplest possible initiations into the outlooks of mathematics, and of mechanics, physics and chemistry, of meteorology and geology as well: and next with corresponding outlooks over living nature, with botanist, zoologist and general biologist, not forgetting their simple (comparative) psychology. Thus coming to humanistic experiences and studies, the archæologist's, the economist's, and the historian's outlooks open before us. The poetic spirit ever expresses the emotioned outlook over nature, organic

and inorganic, and over the ways of man; and the philosopher—emotioned as his very name implies—also colours his more general and abstract view with his optimism, pessimism or meliorism. The teacher's outlook thus involves realisation of all these preceding viewpoints as far as may be, and even for adequate presentment of his particular subject, since this is now seen as in its relation to the others: while it is for the pupil in turn to assimilate, as he advances, more and more of these many outlooks, and these through widening experience of trial of their related activities: for so he best reaches the outlooks and lines of activity in life for which he is best adapted. Thus he is reaching the personal viewpoint, from which at will he can enrich his own range of usefulness, and his resulting individuality more fully.

THUS our little Outlook Tower, throughout its forty years of ups and downs in preparation, and despite all its incompletenesses accordingly, has so far been justifying itself as an experimental laboratory, alike towards re-education and its endeavours towards social service, whence indeed more of culture, and of individuality accordingly.

VIII.

THE two diagrammatic outlines fundamentally outlined in the main preceding paper have in like ways gradually been taking form and substance. Hence it may be the clearest way of bringing out their significance to go on as we have been doing above, but now in terms of further studies and activities, here at Montpellier, with developments and adaptations now in progress or plans. Divided as most days for the past fifty years have been—between the varied interests of the study and the practical work of planning, building, gardening, and so on, and each with little or no thought of the other—it often comes as a surprise to oneself to find that the theory elaborated in the study has more largely arisen from practice than one knew; no less than conversely, the practice from the theory: so though each often, unnoticed at the time, they prove in unison, almost as do plan and perspective. The last of our three propositions stated at the outset may thus be rendered clearer—that individual endeavours towards progress, however limited in their beginnings, and even results for long time, are yet worth making. For they tend to grow like the seed and even function like the leaven of the sociological parable—in our times practically forgotten by those of immediate political aspiration and majority endeavour.

FOR such fresh experiment then, it is well to begin in the simplest possible evolutionary way, i.e., from fundamentals of place, work and people as we find them, and for these do what we can, yet also towards what we would wish for them. The primitive quests of shelter and

food ever come first, from cavern-lair and nature-gathering in the past, towards cottage and garden in the present. For if it be said that even these modest conditions of wellbeing are no longer easily obtainable in this industrial age, the town-planners' answer is now everywhere in evidence—let us see—and try—how to provide them; and then start such few town-folk as really value a bettered life towards realising them. Yet rapidly these conditions extend to include wider and fuller outlooks, as much as may be. And our hillside heath is better as well as cheaper than the levels, though more than heretofore might also be made of these, towards which plans, and even beginnings are in progress. Hence when one has most freedom for such choice, as at the choice of studies or at the start of home-life, or, as in this case, with retirement towards its close, this more strategic choice of situation also arises for our experiment: that of nearness to nature on one hand, and to the city's culture-resources on the other; and all the better of course when the household is a studious one, which desires the second, as well as needs the first. So here between landscape ranging from snows to sea, and beyond hamlet and village over university-city, a convenient situation is found, indeed one of which the geographic and historic outlooks are worth noting. That little yearly fair in town has been one of the most important and significant of the great fairs of old Europe, from early ages the nearest meeting-place for Mediterranean and Nordic commerce and culture. Indeed, this from time literally immemorial: for here is the primitive arterial road of Europe, and long the main one, till the Rhone route was cut through its forest by the Roman axe. For what has proved to be that of the bronze age caravans between Phœnicia and Cornwall (soon also forking its branch to Spain, as "*Via Herculeana*")—still runs beside us on the ridge of our heath; and its Roman re-making, as "*Via Domitiana*" is a little way below. It is now "*Chemin de la Monnaie*," by reason of a Mint of long past rulers; and it has of course been replaced for larger uses by the Napoleonic road and modern railway systems practically parallel.

THE name Montpellier is commonly interpreted as "*Mons pistillarius*"—Grocers' Hill; since here, from the sixth or seventh century at least, was the great fair to which converged the commerce of Spain and Italy, towards southern and even northern France, if not even beyond. And this not only by road, but sea; so bringing its goods, not only from Mediterranean and Africa, but from the Black Sea and even through the Red. Marseilles only came into the Kingdom of France in 1481; but since then, indeed sooner, the old port has been silting up into marsh, and now is meadow. Yet—appropriately—not far from this is again beginning a renewed junction of magnitude and importance, with railways and motor-roads, canal system and new seaport, even a great aerodrome as well; henceforth to be the shortest

and best of route-centres between North and South, Paris and Algeria. A new commercial town is thus naturally being planned : hence, with such a new Piræus, Montpellier will develop all the better as an Acropolis City ; for all such, as from Athens to Edinburgh, and others between and beyond, though at first arising essentially for hill-town security from pirate attacks, develop later in culture. It is also historically interesting to note that at short distance along the coast there still stands the old cathedral of Maguelone, long abandoned and disused ; yet of old ranking first in Gaul, as its metropolitan church and mission-centre, whence third in Catholic tradition of precedence, after the Lateran and Milan Cathedrals : so why not someday a fresh startpoint for some vigorous re-interpret ?

RETURN however to the old Fair ; for here with other traders came the herbalists, as primitive physicians, followed by more skilled ones, from Moorish Spain or from Salerno, and often Jews, who have ever excelled in medicine. These soon founded their guild, and taught their prentices ; hence as "*Universitas Medicinæ*," centuries before the tardy papal recognition of the University as "*Studium Generale*" in 1289. Not only thus is Montpellier oldest of medical centres after Salerno, but long the most progressive also, not only in botany—of which it has again and again been a productive centre, with the earliest of Western botanic gardens in the 16th century, and the first of the Natural System, early in the nineteenth—but in medical education more generally ; as from its earliest teaching of anatomy onwards to the wider renewal of medicine, as for England by its student Sydenham, and for other countries as well ; and with its "*vitalist*" doctrine also maintaining an essentially psycho-biologic view of life, which is anew advancing, in modernised expression. More than this, there are grounds for reckoning Montpellier Fair initiative even to Paris University, whence have arisen Oxford and later ones. Hence the Fair scene of our Masque of Medieval and Modern Learning shows Michael Scot, astrologer to the Emperor Frederick II in Sicily buying the Arabic manuscripts in which he found the long lost Aristotle, and which he translated into Latin, thereby opening the main problem of the medieval university—the co-ordination of this vigorous Greek thinking with Catholic doctrine, which culminated in the "*Summa*" of Aquinas, and thence lapsed to scholasticism in its decline.

SUCH historic memories extend yet further ; witness the recent illumination, by one of the most brilliant members of our University school of History, of the significance of Petrarch's long studies here, and of the importance of papal Avignon and with this of Montpellier, as preparatory to the Renaissance, through the policy and endeavour of reuniting the Greek Orthodox church with the Catholic, and thus establishing the early elements of transition between the Medieval order, culminating in Paris, and the full Renaissance, in Medicean

Florence. Again Rabelais' medical studies here not a little explain, as on his monument, no small elements of his best educational thought, as well as his freedom of style. And so on we might go on (say) to the monument of Comte, whose thought became biological, and thence sociological, after his experience of medical studies here, beyond his mathematics and physics at Paris. Such instances might be multiplied ; for Paris itself has not more conspicuous figures than are some of these pioneers of intellectual progress.

BUT the reader may now be asking—Why all this local history ? Because to all our material outlooks, here ranging north to the Cevennes, south to the Mediterranean, east and west to Alpine and Pyrenean peaks, for nature-experience, we also as students need the humanistic ones, and at their richest. Hence from our prehistoric archæology onwards, through typical monuments and memories of most leading historic phases, to the activities of contemporary evolution, and even to needed post-industrial developments in action, and in thought as well. Thus for regional and historic studies we are peculiarly well-situated, and even for further progress accordingly ; since everywhere—even in America—the present and the future grow onwards from the past.

GIVEN then this historic centre of loving studies of living nature, and of untiring endeavours of the healing arts—continued directly from Hippocrates—"formerly of Cos, now of Montpellier" as is with just pride inscribed upon the well-authenticated bust which centres its Graduation Hall of Medicine, and thence radiating throughout our western world for the past millenium—what fuller encouragement for continued endeavours ! And these alike towards unriddling the mysteries of life, abating its evils, and advancing its service ; and hence also towards the truly higher education of youth, to continue such researches and endeavours yet further in their turn. So much then for Montpellier, as in so many ways far more than the venerable treasure-house of illustrious memories and centre of more or less efficient survivals, as to its everyday citizens, teachers and visitors alike, it commonly seems ; since thence manifestly also one of the best strategic points of Europe, towards campaigns of further progress.

IX.

THUS, after our old cottage was repaired to habitableness, came naturally the attached building of a smaller Outlook Tower as well, with Camera and the rest in progress. Next the tripling of our residential accommodation by further additions, so unifying the cottage building of regional type, and its Franco-Scottish outlook tower, with something of classic tradition in central library and hall, and with modern development beyond. Our first four rooms have thus grown to forty ; and four adjacent cottages are now extended for

dwellings, sanatorium and village school, and for Palestinian students. The Collège des Indiens, on larger scale than this, is also now building; and plans for American and other centres are in progress. Here, then, are the beginnings of a Cité Universitaire Méditerranéenne—not in rivalry with the colossal scheme of Paris, but in that legitimate and small-scale decentralisation from it, which might be undertaken in all leading provincial universities; and of which some indeed may thus be encouraged to do the like.

HERE in fact is a main explanation of the present undertaking. For the next wave of progress needed throughout universities—one of the urgent conditions needed to stir them beyond their traditional routine—is to widen out their road for more general traffic; and so get their ideas more speedily to their respective intellectual fairs, and to and from the general world. Or, changing the metaphor to that of their respective trees of knowledge—and with due appreciation of such flower and fruit as these have yielded—might not these often be enriched by adding fresh grafts from others? And might they not also yield more and better seed by help of cross-fertilisation? Everyone who studies in German Universities is struck by the varied advantages their better—and even ordinary—students derive from their “wander-years” among others of these, since thus time after time stirred up by fresh cultural and intellectual environment, and even experience in other countries; instead of only once, as in Britain and in France, where practically all “stay put.” It is thus a fresh light on the career of the late Dr. Stresemann, who did so much better for his own country by being also a cultivated, progressive, and thus peace-desiring European, when we learn that in his student days he took a period at Geneva, in various ways second only to Paris as a centre of French civilisation at its best, and proportionally more widely international also. What statesman, among all those of the various nations which came to deadly blows in 1914, had given himself the like opportunity and advantage, of international education? Let their peace-seeking successors, as in the League of Nations, thus more and more encourage their students to such widening experience; for these in the coming generation will thus have far less difficulty in coming to mutual understanding. What possibility of assuring international peace, let alone the Unistates of Europe—until their respective intellectuals and future statesmen know and understand each other far better than they yet do? And the like for thoughtful and socially-minded women also. Not simply does the future diplomatist or politician, consul or publicist need this widened experience in youth: for every other profession and career it is educative as well. Are not France and Britain alike lagging behind other peoples in not a few respects, for want of knowing more of them at their best? Hence—though we should not be here did we not appreciate the

advantages of Montpellier as well as try to add to these—we do not advise our students to confine their studies, but after a year or two to seek out the next place and teacher best suited to their stage and needs—"fresh fields and pastures new."

X.

THE development of the grounds and gardens of this College group, and next those of their vacation centre at the Chateau d'Assas, is of varied interest and purpose, beyond their initial reclamation from barrenness. First of course for nature studies, floristic and faunistic generally. Indeed even from geology onwards: for in our disused quarry we have a fine section of the regionally predominant Jurassic limestone with dip and strike, fold and fault well shown. A widened fault is filled with quaternary breccia, in which a blast has yielded a fossil horse. Close beside is "le Volcan de Montpellier"—really but a permanent hot air spring, of which in winter frost the water vapour condenses into wreaths of steam, to which the village mothers call their children's attention, as "l'éruption!" Close by this again is the buried opening of a cavern with stalactites, which one student after another takes a turn towards re-opening. Here then, by rare good luck, is an unusually compendious introduction to leading interests of geology; so that after such observation, the student can read to better purpose, since with a realism beyond his who begins with books. So too for entomology: our mingled wild and cultivated garden has needed but a barrowful of sand in one space and of manure in another to provide a practically complete "Champ Fabre": and though we still lack such a great observer, we have two entomological theses on the way. For ornithology, with neighbourly agreement, a bird sanctuary is beginning. Our heath has so exceptionally rich a flora that the incipient "Mediterranean Geo-Botanic Institute" is to be permanently lodged with us, and with heath reserves accordingly, here and at Assas. The veteran of French forestry is always available to advise on our operations, and similarly the agricultural and meteorological experts as well; while our admirable head-gardener's successes have brought him the professorship of horticulture at the Women's Training College; so with propaganda and examples of school-gardens thus extending. A small type botanic garden, on fresh lines of evolutionary presentment, has been in project from the first, to be proceeded with as soon may be, and thus in virtual extension of the old University one, towards which further schemes are also pending. Connecting the two existing open spaces—heath and "plan"—via our school grounds and village playing field, with open-air theatre in preparation, the whole is virtually forming a fair-sized and varied village park, with increasingly attractive open ramble for townsfolk also.

RETURNING to higher studies, at one point the professor of astronomy has guided our erection of a sun-dial, and next of a "Druid circle," equinoctially oriented: an open air observatory, like those of Ujjain and Delhi, but on smaller scale, is dreamed of as circumstances may allow: while the modern telescope and small observatory, for which the University Department has still no funds, is on the plan of the coming Collège des Américains.

XI.

SINCE the days of Plato's Academe, the "philosopher's garden" is a familiar conception; and since Aristotle's Lyceum we think of this as "peripatetic." But it is time to realise this more fully; so now in touch with the history of life and thought. A disused quarry-hole affords the vertical face and open space for outlines summarising the succession of archæological levels so fully presented in caverns and museum at our associated vacation courses of prehistoric archæology at Les Eyzies in Dordogne; and it offers a little centre for Boy Scouts and Girl Guides as well. Beside this is a "Nine-stone Circle" around an old olive-tree, features of later but still prehistoric culture, and here (somewhat speculatively) linked with the origin of Pallas Athena from woman's wise uses of it. Next this comes a little garden of the nine Muses, with appropriate plants; and next again the graphic expression of its shrinkage in verbalistic education times. Ending (or beginning) this line, comes the Circle of the Olympians, as interpreted in a former paper (SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 1913). Further uphill on this path of historic evocation, and overlooking heath shrubbery left wild, is an embattled towerlet, suggestive of the early middle age, and enclosing a "Round Table," round which the appropriate legends may be told as romantically as we may (aided, when you please, by Wagner on the gramophone). Next up-hill—passing a roughly home-made armillary sphere to express the new astronomy—we come to a free and a formal garden on either hand, conveniently symbolising the dual endeavours of the Renaissance—the latter the more largely realised. This alternation, between return to nature and strict domination of it, in fact runs through gardens and buildings alike, as through human life and its history. A broader walk, of length spaced out by its avenue of young cypresses, affords interspaces, each like a proscenium, for imaging the succession of historic periods, with their temporal and spiritual developments on either hand.

XII.

FINALLY, and most ambitiously, the peripatetic outline of Philosophy, modern especially, but not exclusively. Reclining in a cushioned shelter-retreat, like Descartes in his bed, one may again see how he came to his co-ordinates, and even a good deal realise his "Method," &c.,

more fully. We leave Spinoza for further consideration ; and the all-embracing mind of Leibnitz may be thought of as diffused throughout our varied beginnings. Hobbes, with his *Leviathan State*, has already a uniquely complete monumental presentment around the statue of Louis XIV on the Peyrou Park in town. Berkeley's adolescent start, from the perplexing iridescence of a tar-water film, is often manifest beside the garage ; while something of the commonsense "*philosophie écossaise*" of Reid, Stewart and Hamilton, again pervades our scheme and view. Locke's stress on sense-impressions, with observation and reflection, is common to all naturalistic teaching ; and his and later utilitarianism also, for all it is worth, and as far as it goes—though not far enough ; and so for Hume's sceptical empiricism. These and later thinkers, from French Encyclopedists to German metaphysicians, are naturally more easily referred to in the library ; yet the potent logic of Hegel is peculiarly open to simple graphic representation, as indeed indicated in the previous paper (April, 1929), and with dissipation of its common reputation for verbal obscurity, so far as its essential values are concerned. Again, beyond such graphic ways of appreciating the viewpoint and method of this and that philosopher, taken separately, a further graphic device is that of presenting the development of great problems. For a main instance, take that of the classification and inter-relations of the sciences, in progress since Aristotle, and indeed before, and up to the present ; and all this associated with the complemental perspectives of Plato and his successors. Similarly for the related activities of life ; objective and material in the series we may call Aristotelian, e.g., mechanical, physical and chemical, biotechnic and economic, political, &c. : yet all these again complemented by the Platonic series of subjective activities, ethical, psychologic, esthetic, and with logico-mathematical clarity. The essential contributions of different modern philosophers, as notably of Kant in his way, and of Comte in his, are thus included and presented upon this graphic terrace, much as on the projection of the world-map we may note the range of different explorers between its parallels and meridians.

SIMPLE and even vivid though are such graphic devices to the eye, such mere initial and verbal indications as the present are plainly inadequate, save to show that attempts are possible, at once towards the popularisation of the main viewpoints of many philosophers, and increasingly to the clearer harmonisation of their essential conceptions ; and the appreciation of these by students or visitors as yet quite unread in philosophy ; as indeed often by the workmen who execute their presentment on terraces and in gardens. And as these synthetic simplifications are also approved by each different philosophical teacher and student who has looked at them, the continuance of this endeavour is encouraged : but fuller description would exceed these limits, the

more since it is continued, alike in decoration within the house, and its sculpture without. It is often forgotten that the most familiar and convenient of abstract phrases in the expository treatment of any subject—"in the first place; in the second place; and in the third place"—is actually derived from the usage of Greek orators, whose platform was so commonly that of a four-columned temple front, with these three "places" accordingly between. That gives a precedent for here developing such graphic aids, as far as they prove of service; and so at once extending and systematising the graphic illustrations of philosophy as well as of science; and even with aid of the arts.

XIII.

FOR a further example of such synthetic graphics, and that more in the concrete, since for human life, leave that abstract presentment of the sciences on their clear-marked terrace with their graphic outlines, their contrasted yet complementary syntheses, and next pass through the accompanying indication of their associated activities, as of policy, medicine and agriculture, mechanics and money, within an exuberant and wellnigh mutually concealing tangle of active growth. We come next to a larger space, an orderly and formal garden, which at first seems but decorative, as usual for such. Yet here its planning also presents the special (yet again complementary) standpoints of many thinkers and workers; and these, with a little patience, far more readably than in repeated endeavours of exposition in preceding papers in this REVIEW. First, and sharply marked, the standpoints and circles of the geographer, the economist and the anthropologist, as students of place, work, and people respectively; but these next reunited, by Le Play's walk, as we may call it; so henceforth we see these as the "three musketeers" of elementary sociology, as from the origins of the Sociological Society. These three are next linked up with the studies of the experimental psychologist, of sense, experience and feeling; and these circles again with those of the deeper psychology, of co-emotion, ideation and imagination; each towards its fullest, when united in the inner life at its best. Yet in this, its three main components again link up with yet further circles, those of the active life at its highest, in etho-polity, in synergy, and towards achievement. It is these two series, of deepening thought, and of life heightening to worthy deed, which in combination are ever yielding as of old, the nine various modes and themes of Musal expression.

THUS, beginning anew with place, work and people, and in their everyday acts, in village and town, we realise, by help of thus developed senses, work-experiences and homely feelings, the essential everyday facts of this real school of life; and so work and live more efficiently. Yet when these deepen to co-emotion, ideation and imagination, we pass into that cloister of thought, which to the simpler world we leave

behind seems but one of "dreams." Be these so or no, they are each and all too fascinating to permit return. Thus, from the home village or town, with its local, occupational and homely school of everyday active experience, which makes up the main life of the people and of their directive chiefs—as with "labour and capital" to-day, "or serf and baron" of old—we have entered the cloister, be this ancient or modern. For always with its main threefold chord of inward life—that of re-religious emotion, with doctrine and symbol—of rigorous thought, as science, with its notations as mathematics, its unification and estimation as philosophy—and that of vital imagination at its best, with its patient and reasoned design, its impassioned poesy. The monks and nuns of the cloisters of old in all faiths and lands, and the true students—who are ever renewing the universities to be worthy of their great past and fuller future, be this in re-religion, in science or philosophy, or in art and poesy—are thus akin. So there, in principle, they commonly continue for life; as "regulars," or as "intellectuals." Yet to some of these there comes a further call: not of return to the everyday world, but of shaping it more near the heart's desire. Hence, by some, at their best, the arousal of the folk through sympathy to etho-polity, of their work to ordered synergy, and the re-shaping of their familiar place by imaged achievement. Here then is another graphic garden for the thoughtful student—one of life in its development, with its activities, ideas, and ideals presented as potentially normal; and thus as suggestive—indeed why not directive?—towards self-education at its best, since towards etho-politics, through eupsychics. (Note also its analogy, yet contrast, to the psychology and development of War.)

XIV.

FROM the biotechnic and re-educational expressions of the transition we are illustrating, let us turn towards local and incipiently regional endeavours.

THIS apparent village around us is really but a scattered suburb, mostly of town workmen's country cottages (a good feature round Languedoc and Provençal cities) and a few scattered villas, sometimes altered from farmhouses: so really but an outlying town suburb, though till lately a neglected one. In fact it never was a village; but, as the old name—"Plan des Quatre Seigneurs"—implies, a meeting-place of four estates and their roads at the little open space (Plan), which served for local rendezvous and minor fair of old. We have to go two or three kilometres out by various roads to reach the nearest genuine rural villages, each with an old parish church, and a modern Mairie, instead of chateau now often ruined or vanished. Among these, an experience which tourists from towns too easily fail to realise—we are in the essential countryside, the old province, the

old-world France. This village world is still greatly preponderant in population over all the cities put together : though depressed and discouraged, as long increasing neglect, with more or less dilapidation, plainly show. For " what is agricultural depression " (as a wise psychologist has put it) but " nine-tenths mental depression " ! Hence the villages are now in depopulation as well, with town-migration largely in progress ; and with their backward hygiene also largely explaining that high mortality-rate of France which is a deeper cause of its population-arrest than the low birth-rate, which so many other countries are now in way of overtaking. Farm-fields are few : but the innumerable vineyards are of course well cultivated, for the vine demands that, and rewards it : but the olive-groves are now few, and those surviving are too commonly neglected, so seldom profitable. Of gardens there are hardly any worth the name ; and the heath is too commonly disforested to scrub. This rural deterioration has long been more or less in progress ; long after the barbarian invasions had wrought ill, the Albigensian crusade desolated the region. The Hundred Years' War must so far again have largely depleted it, and the Religious Wars after the Reformation did much damage as well. But above all is the subsequent exhaustion due to the urban and metropolitan culture of the Renaissance, which drew away the seigneurs from their duties, and taught them to exaggerate their " rights " into exactions. The ever-repeated calling away of each generation's flower of youth to war has been a grievous weakening, up to the recent culminating one—from which each village has its woeful monument, the nearest to us recording, out of some 400 inhabitants, no less than forty dead ; not to speak of so many more wounded as well. On the whole then—despite the frequent beauty and interest of the old village churches and the picturesqueness of their old-time survivals in the crowded and decayed old centre, which make the motorist pause to admire and photograph—the essential impression is too commonly a melancholy one ; and which the commonplace modern village street lining the now too narrow modern thoroughfare does not relieve, but rather emphasises. Obviously for the early and medieval portion, the more narrow and tortuous its streets and lanes, and the more frequent their overarching, the more crowded, high and small-windowed blocks of building, the more hidden the inner ones, the better for safety and defence : but how dearly bought !—as its inhabitants still too much fail to realise. Electric light has come in of late years, and also increase of proper water-supply ; but the community remains backward in housing and hygiene ; and the village school, despite frequent intelligence and goodwill among its teachers, is of course precluded from rural reality of education-values by its metropolitan centralisation, with its verbalistic training colleges, as far as possible politically coloured as well. There are now of course beginnings of better things ; but mostly too recent to show much result : thus in many

years I have as yet only once seen a vitally educative school garden in this region, and can hear of too few others. In short, then, the essential social impression is that of the age-long and cumulative wreckage of the rural life by the urban ; so that what has been longest, and in so many ways the central and leading civilisation of Europe has been founded too largely on the depression and often sacrifice of its main mass, its rural people—and too much still. It is not, of course, for us with English or Scottish Lowland or Highland experience here to boast : in fact home experience too much akin blinds most of us, or even stirs others to the thanksgiving of the Pharisee, now so often a tourist. It is thus time to make a modern survey and record, like Arthur Young's before the Revolution ; and this, with help of Leplay House Vacation Tours, we are beginning. And now that a good many in France are awaking to regional and social realities, an observant and rurally efficient Dane, or an Irishman trained by Horace Plunkett or A.E., each with his fresh foreign eye, could not only add a needed volume to the advancing literature of regional geography and its social interpretation, but would stimulate regional progress.

XV.

Now if such be the broad result of rural and village observation, pending the more accurate and comprehensive surveys required, what can we do about it ? Of our beginnings of local improvements hereabouts enough has already been said : but what of the real old village ? The occasion has arisen by the acquirement on easy terms of the Chateau d' Assas ; and this first for its holiday attractiveness as a fine old country-house ; yet also for studious reasons, as an addition to the needed equipment of the College towards its fundamental aim, that of replacement of the dominant verbalistic mis-instruction at all levels by the re-education of real environment and experience. Just as our quarry, with its interestingly modified strata, its big fossil, its hot air spring and cavern, offers the needed means of arousal, by wonder to curiosity and observation, which can then profit by lectures and be impelled to search books, as well as observe further anew, so next the like is needed for the study of history, and with that living familiarity which libraries, lectures, and even excursions, even at their best, cannot sufficiently supply. What our quarry offers to awaken the young geologist, or the heath and garden to evoke the botanist, that our old chateau and village offer to the student of history, whether here resident, or in vacation parties, as from Leplay House and N.U.S., &c. The volume of genealogies of its seigneurs, through early middle ages and onwards, indicates no biography now remembered, and the village and neighbourhood seem to have been historically eventless : yet, all the more for that, the main phases of general history stand out clear, from earliest beginnings, through the

middle ages earlier and later, the Renaissance, again early to latest, up to beginnings of both Romantic and Utilitarian styles, and of Revolution damage, and thence, through decline in recent times, to such opening possibilities as may be. For with all our thought and talk of rustic and urban, what can we do in the villages as we find them? After survey, what of service? First then the former.

XVI.

WHILE through orderly Gallo-Roman times the population was mainly on the plain, with each village round its "villa," the barbarian troubles and fears compelled a new and closer segregation, as far as possible on eminences more easily defensible; and thus also explaining the need and the development of leadership, soon baronial. So here the long rampart wall, replacing the original palisade, still mostly encloses the medieval village, with the later road, as modern street, as usual outside it, on the level below. We have not yet made out the whole development of Assas; but there are notable obvious survivals, especially a striking late medieval rampart, with two curiously bulged round towers, and sentinel's walk above, containing an intricate old group of castle dwellings, and defending the main court, with its deep well. There are only traces of the early Renaissance chateau: since this was replaced during 1740-60 by the present fine example of the style of Louis XV. in its earlier and better form, and with masonry sculpture and ironwork well-enduring at their best. From a free-growing "jardin anglais" we look out eastward over the village and beyond, while the formal "jardin français," beyond its massive old box-hedges, looks over the wooded park and to the fine landscapes on either hand, to peak, sierra and precipice, and towards city and sea. Here then we have an epitome of conditions and changes for many past centuries; and sometimes even in dramatic detail, as with the rockery-work of Marie-Antoinette's Trianon romanticism, and with the carved shield and coronet of the marquise shattered, and the four tower-tops knocked down by the visit of Terrorists in 1794, thus fortunately appeased. And as such stately chateau-building is but one example of the costly magnificence of a noblesse trained to the luxury, display and idleness which culminated at Versailles, and with their cost so much beyond the means of their villages, we understand better how the Revolution came—a generation after this chateau and so many others were finished. Here then is a place where each main phase of history is naturally far more vivid for the student than in lecture-room or study in town: whence indeed schemes for dramatic presentments.

XVII.

So far well—for college—but what for village? Are we too in our turn but to enjoy all this for ourselves, as every country-house tempts

to? Beginnings of village relations soon appear. Local communications need a new road at foot of the hillside park, and a bowling-green is wanted on the level: and both demands are obvious and welcome. The long closed park is now settled to be of permanently open village access, and its level portion will soon be something of playing-field, and if possible, of school garden. As the seigneur who built the present chateau considered the fine old twelfth century parish church as but his castle chapel, he began his construction in 1740 by pulling down its west front and adjacent portion of the nave, and replaced these by his orangerie! Naturally a grudge and grief ever since; so the least and best one can now do is to make of that the needed village hall, with keys to the curé and the mayor, to the school teachers and the musical society, &c. And by and by, we trust, to the Women's Institute—which is if possible even more needed throughout French villages than in our own home ones; and which one of its best experts, Miss Watkin, has already given an impulse towards organising. For the village weddings, and fêtes generally, the chateau is in frequent use; but what next can be done? For here is a real social problem, one manifest in Britain just as here, and again needing local initiative from the villagers, as well as from us too external friends. As to such possibilities, suggestions are invited: thus as how to mobilise the resources and goodwill of the neighbouring city and university? And as now we have beginnings of village improvement around the college, as well as at Assas, we next have designs upon a third village between; and if there also something can be set agoing, interest will spread through others in the department, and even province, indeed among regionalists generally. It is hard to start improvements: but once effectively set agoing, they survive and spread; the parable of the leaven and seed comes true. And as it is sometimes said—Why not the like at home?—the answer is that village schemes and plans, both Lowland and Highland, have long been hatching in the Edinburgh Outlook Tower, and are waiting for any who care to look into them.

XVIII.

HERE there seems no way short of facing the village planning problem. Old French villages largely agree in having (1) their old nucleus, with its original disadvantages as above noted, their later congestion, their present defects, as regards space and light, air and sanitation, and even dilapidation; and (2) their later portion, usually of eighteenth and nineteenth century housing, and, as a now generally too narrow street for the modern motor traffic, so noisy, dusty and dangerous. How improve on this? Village examples survive here and there of good old medieval market-places, often with trees, and sometimes a fountain; and in others their later public places, and more or less of boulevard as well. Clearances would sometimes supply small open spaces, or

enlarge existing ones : but there is as yet little or no way of effecting this, for even the removal of a ruin is no easy matter where the sense of inherited property is so strong. New houses outside the village limit are as yet few ; for owners grudge encroaching on their long cultivated fields ; so these are usually set at any corner as their owner pleases : there seems nowhere as yet any village extension plan. With few exceptions, too little has been made even of the great opportunities of the rebuilding of villages destroyed in the war ; and such improvements as these may show do not seem to have reached the south. Yet at length arises what may yet be a widely applicable idea—that of utilising the adjacent border of the rocky heath, too often mere scrubby waste, which is near so many villages, and is of the merest fractional value of agricultural land. So as towns spread out into new suburbs, why not the village too ?—thus thinning itself out, and into better conditions, beyond its old central labyrinth, and its dull and narrow main street ? Here upon our portion of heath, we at first planted pines, in small holes as usual, made by pick, not spade ; and at most with a fig-tree, an almond or olive, in an occasional bit of soil near the house. But now, in building the Indian College, instead of bringing stone from a distance, we blast it on and around the site, so with no expense for cartage, and only a little for barrowing. The larger stones are thus available for much less expensive building, and can be rough-cast pleasingly. The smaller are used for underlying the cement flooring, &c., and the debris helps for the needful road, and for paths around and terraces in front. Instead of opening a regular quarry we have thus many minor holes ; and after leaving one to be cemented for cistern, we find more earth and earthy debris available for filling and planting the others than we expected. So our new building, instead of leaving the old waste beside, will soon have a good many fruit trees in bearing between it and the rocky scrub-vegetation. In this way, at no inconvenient distance from the village, a Forest Suburb, with olives, figs and almonds, is economically possible ; especially since its house-sites should cost next to nothing, and the needful road can be inexpensively made. The villagers, of course, will be hard to move : we have as yet no definite response to this suggestion : yet even a single beginning or two may be made, as why not with one or two townsmen's country cottages to start with ? Again as occupational education comes in, some will find interest and exercise for the holidays of several years in thus building for themselves, and others profit by starting cottages for others to take over and finish. We do not despair of finding a lively scout-master and his group to give an example ; and similarly to show what can be done even with a ruin to renew, and a lapsed field, olivette and garden to reclaim. For there would be craft education, rural education, character education, and social education together. The next move would be for boy scouts to do this sort of work for their girl guide friends, or

for the old widow or invalid veteran of the village ; and the next to have the like taken up more widely by school-boys and students, verbalistic no longer, but re-educated to socians. Indeed why not in time the like in Britain, and even headed by some of those who at present can but amiably increase doles to the unemployed, instead of organising such practical beginnings throughout villages and towns also, of its relief and re-education in such constructive employments everywhere calling for them. The experience of France, since the war, of absorbing near two million immigrants, yet with practically no unemployed—say one to two thousand of ours—should surely be suggestive. Hence we cannot but maintain the challenge of our Coal Crisis volumes, repeated in *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, January, 1929.

XIX.

GRANTING then this rural and biotechnic start-point, and towards both re-educational and regional uses, we have obviously to utilise, in our tree-planting, reclamation, cultivation and building, all the mechanical, physical and chemical resources and knowledge in our reach : and this knowledge at its synthetic best, of complex interaction, as in soil, weather and climate. And this with help of their respective specialists, and further research, as with various students' theses in progress, and henceforward in the Mediterranean Geo-Botanic Institute now here in preparation. In principle it is thus becoming geotechnic : for our experimental beginnings here, as in Palestine, &c., towards the restoration of the too barren heaths left deteriorated by past deforesting, as from Spain to Syria and beyond, have already afforded half a dozen or more devices, each of practical and useful possibilities for the uplands of that whole vast region. These suggest openings for the utilisation of rock-borers and rock-explosives, of caterpillar tractors, of telpherage by electricity, and this available by improved utilisation of wind-power, as soon as Mr. Edison's and other inventors' cheapened accumulators are ready. And thus with quicker-growing afforestation, and even more economic and healthier housing near cities, and even for outworn villages, and with fruit-growing, water economy, &c., as well. Such local and regional progress, biotechnic and geotechnic together, is also in its very nature experimental, both on biological and social levels : and even towards throwing fresh light upon their evolution processes and problems so far unsolved, either by Darwinians and Lamarckians in biology, or by sociologists so far, since these for the most part, remain too urban, and thus commonly too abstract also. In all this we do not as yet press for action by the State, though that will come some day, with progress of its theorists from abstract ideas and metaphysical ideals to generalisations verifiable in nature and human life. Towards such constructive understanding and purpose, it is manifest that even strictly philosophic thinkers are being influenced

as towards that biosophic renewal so vividly (albeit still incompletely) expounded by Bergson. And among statesmen, is it not manifest that men and minds so independently individualised apart as those of (say) Clemenceau and Lloyd George, Hoover and Tardieu, are all moving forward towards constructive programmes ?

XX.

HERE then is the rural "line of business," as constructive, and as social service ; so with a view of economics differing from that of Individualism and Socialism, and their logical intercrossings as Bolshevism and Fascism ; since now fundamentally Neo-Physiocratic, and thus a social economy, for place, work and folk alike. Here then is another example of Transition, as from these four acutely urban view-points towards the rural, or rather rur-urban, and with general interpretation so far accordingly. Thus the urban mind thinks habitually in terms of money notations, whether one be costermonger or financier, mechanic or millionaire matters little ; whereas the essential rural attitude (largely debased though it now is by urban influences, from spurious school instruction onwards) is that of the long season's daily labour, before its return comes to ripeness ; and that in kind, however largely saleable afterwards. Such undertakings as the present are of course essentially in this daily labouring spirit ; which, like tree-planting, has to wait long for fruit, and longer still for capital return on outlay. It is thus deeply uneconomic from the urban view-point, since of no immediate pecuniary justification in the ordinary sense. Just as urban activities have always promoted deforestation, with its immediate returns, yet with this now seen as error, with the true economics on the opposite side, so for all other operations on this vital and rural side of our diagram. An olive sapling and a baby alike need the same half-generation for their entry on productivity, but that makes it all the more true economy patiently to care for crops and children—instead of prematurely using up both, as for fuel or drudgery, as the shorter-lived mechanistic-pecuniary townfolk have been wont to do ; and as their economic, financial and political sophists have encouraged, with corresponding failure of recovering a rural economy at all. After such mis-teaching, the State—however fundamentally created by militarism, and capable of reversion to rapine, as in the recent war—mainly maintains its central functioning, that of ever-increasing order and progress—of taxation : and this above all and as far as possible for consumption in its metropolis, by or through its bureaucracies in the first place. Hence with peasants in particular overtaxed and mis-instructed ; and over-exploited by Finance ; indeed more and more frequently defrauded, instead of capitalised ; thus also overworked, dulled and depressed accordingly, as from ancient Egypt onwards to this day, and not in

Russia only. Of course this view seems extreme to one's urban friends, even when not unsympathetic ; but the half is not known to them : even we so far educated and thinking rustics are only learning to realise it. But enough of such political criticism and financial accusation ; the essential problems, even towards bettered politics and finance, are—what can we learn from (and for) country life ?—and hence towards rural and rur-urban service ?

OF course as occupational education more fully comes in, enough to shake the tyranny of verbalistic mis-instruction (e.g., as more Boy-scouts grow up), rural access, and its occupational opportunities, will be actively used by most active minds, and not merely occasional ones ; so with the normal rural interest in life emerging from under the wheels of the present mechano-maniac triumph. Our present diagram-contrast is thus becoming something of Transition. And in this, old Montpellier, with its longest tradition of life-studies and activities, agricultural and medical especially, will again come into its own, and be active at the educational front more than ever. Indeed, just as this is being written, two encouraging proposals come in from our students here :—to make their tennis court and the needful road to it, and to survey our portion of the Assas heath towards its afforestation—each a hopeful occupational beginning, rur-urban and rural.

(To be continued.)

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The inter-relation of the three papers (Mr. Dawson's, the abstract of Professor Ellwood's new book, and Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor's remarkable essay) which follow the above paper by Geddes, is fairly evident, dealing, as they all three do, with the present confusion and disabilities of Occidental Culture (in the broad sense of that word which brings Religion within its reference ; though in Mr. Dawson's paper the religious reference is implicit rather than direct). But the relation of these three papers to that of Geddes, printed above, is not so obvious, though real and vital. A clue to the inter-relation of all four papers may be discerned in the statement by Mrs. Taylor that Sociology may hope to help us through the current " Transitional Travail " in the degree that it becomes an Art, which not only applies, but transcends, its own data as science. It is precisely here, as illustrating the passage of Sociology from science to art that the above paper of Geddes has its main interest. For the scientific foundations of this nascent Art of Applied Sociology, the reader will turn first to the paper by Geddes in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* of April, 1929 ; but for a more thoroughgoing presentation, Geddes' whole set of papers, which run intermittently through the volumes of this *REVIEW*, and the preceding publications of the Sociological Society since its beginnings in 1904, must be consulted. Here will be found the outline of a Pure Sociology (as science) systematically based upon : (a) the constructive work of the Founders ; (b) the " preliminary " sciences ; and (c) correlating the disparate specialisms which have grown up within the social field, but outside the discipline of Sociology. Here also will be found a wealth of suggestions towards an Applied Sociology (as art) not only in economics, ethics and politics, but also in education, æsthetics and religion.

EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW ECONOMIC FORCES*: by Christopher Dawson.

I HAVE taken as the subject—or at least the starting point—of this paper, M. Lucien Romier's recent study of the new economic and social tendencies of our civilisation.† It is not often that we find a professional historian turning from the past to explain the present and to forecast the future. But this is what M. Romier has done. His reputation as an historian rests on his very important series of books dealing with the age of the religious wars in France, but of late years as editor of the *FIGARO*, and as one of the best known publicists in France, he has devoted himself entirely to modern social and economic problems.‡

NEVERTHELESS, unlike so many students who have turned to practical life, he has preserved the historian's gifts of impartiality and detachment. One might suppose, perhaps, that the historian would be more inclined than the journalist or the man of affairs to judge the present situation in terms of the past. As a matter of fact, the case is just the reverse—it is only the trained mind that can recognise the new factors in a situation, the change of social direction which characterises a new period. The practical man is always apt to assume the uniformity of events and to forecast the future on the model of the past (e.g., the Unemployment question. It has taken our men of affairs and politicians years to realise that trade and industry were not going to flow back automatically into their old channels).

Now, in the wider problems of social life and international politics, current thought is still to a very great extent under the influence of the past: advanced and revolutionary thought, no less than that of avowed conservatives. We are apt to think in terms of political sovereignty and political citizenship. Individual freedom and political rights, and national sovereignty and independence have been governing ideals of the modern world. But they were the creation of the thinkers of the 18th Century, and their social and economic presuppositions are those of the 18th Century world. While they have been conquering public opinion and being given conscious political sanctions, a new set of social and economic conditions—largely incompatible with them—have been coming into existence.

HENCE two great paradoxes.

*This paper was read at the Annual Conference of Leplay House, November, 1929.

†WHO WILL BE MASTER: EUROPE OR AMERICA? by L. Romier; and L'HOMME NOUVEAU.

‡During the past year or two Monsieur Romier, having given up the Editorship of the *FIGARO*, has been directing a nation-wide movement of renewal and reconstruction under the title of *LE REDRESSEMENT FRANCAIS*. [Ed. Soc. Rev.]

I. THE age of nationalism has been marked by the growing internationalisation of social and economic life. At the time of the French Revolution, each European people was distinct in its culture, its customs, its ways of thought, even its costumes. Each country was economically self-sufficient, produced its own food supply and supported its own population. To-day we all wear the same clothes, go to see the same films and dance the same dances to the same tunes. Still more striking is the economic change. We may be politically independent and extremely conscious of our own nationality, but we are dependent on other countries for the food we eat, the clothes we wear and the employment by which we gain our daily bread. Even those of us who do not work may get their money from South American dividends and must pay a share of their taxes to North American bond-holders. The national frontier is now a political convention, and it does not mark off independent economic or even social organisms.

II. THE victory of political liberalism and the acquisition of individual liberties appear to have been accompanied by an increasing loss of individual independence and initiative in the ordinary business of life. This also is the result of economic causes. The new industry leaves less scope for individual liberty. The individual has become a cog in the vast machinery of modern industrial life. He is the servant of the machine and his whole life tends to become mechanised.

LIBERALISM succeeded in destroying the old compulsion which hindered individual liberty. The feudal rights which prevented the peasant having the full use of his land ; the old mercantilist regulations which interfered with the free enterprise of the merchant ; the caste privileges which shut out the commoner from a free professional career ; the religious restrictions which limited the freedom of conscience. But all these compulsions were external. The new compulsion comes from within and governs a man's whole life. It is not a case of a man having to give a certain proportion of his time and labour to the service of another, as with the peasant of the old régime ; his time and his energies are absorbed in the service of an external power—the vast organised machine of modern industry and commerce.

HENCE it has come about that the centre of social gravity has shifted from the political to the economic field. We still preserve the old political forms, but it is the economic issues that control our lives. "Formerly," says M. Romier, "the right to territory was disputed for reasons which concerned nations as such, political, strategic, financial or nationalistic. Now it is no longer the interests proper of a state that count, it is the interests of such and such a mass or economic group, of which the state is merely the instrument, that decide the fate of a territory."

At first sight this seems the thesis which the Socialists have been maintaining since the days of Karl Marx; i.e., the economic interpretation of history and the passing of the political struggle into the class war. Now, it is true that the Socialists were the first to realise the trend of events and Marxian Socialism was precisely an attempt to adapt the old political forms to the new economic realities. But it did not go far enough. It was a premature attempt to fit the economic facts into a theory which was rather political than economic. Karl Marx had grown up in a society in which the class divisions were very real—indeed the ultimate social realities—but these were not economic classes in the socialist sense, they were not based on capital and labour so much as on a traditional social hierarchy. The position of the officer caste, the opposition of nobles and bourgeois, the existence of sharply defined inequalities in education and social privileges were the kind of facts which coloured men's thinking. In the new industrial-commercial societies which were growing up in England and America the class system was of far less importance. And its importance has steadily diminished. Indeed, to-day in the U.S.A. we can see what M. Romier terms the deproletarianisation of the workers, the application of common standards of life and a common social ideal to every class in the community. The working man, like the business man, has his motor-car and his wireless set, he frequents the same cinemas and dance-halls and has much the same standard of education. Socially speaking, there is only one class and that is the middle class—apart from some of the rich who have become de-Americanised by contact with European society, and the poor immigrants who have not had time to become Americanised as yet.

THE true feature of the new society, according to M. Romier, is not the class struggle, but the growth of great economic interests which transcend the boundaries of nation and class. Each of these interests becomes the centre of a vast agglomeration of wealth and population which depend upon it for their very existence. "In a hundred years," he says,* "the population of the world has doubled, that of Europe has tripled, and that of North America has multiplied 30 to 40 times. This new humanity, actually created by the new sources of wealth, lives in masses and can only live in masses. If you alter one of the facts which contribute to the life of the mass, if you suppress the wealth that is being exploited, the aggregation or the unity of the individuals who together exploit this, if you take away their outlet or their profit from the collective activity, everything crumbles, the mass falls in ruins, the surplus population dies off, the children who were to be born fail to see the light of day."

THUS co-operation rather than class war is the fundamental condition of the existence of these economic masses. It is only when profits

**op. cit.*, p. 19.

fall off and the conditions of employment become difficult, as in the English mining industry to-day, that the opposition of employer and employed becomes crucial. In a prosperous condition, such as the American motor industry, the class struggle is negligible.

THE fundamental error of the socialists consisted in their conceiving wealth as something fixed and static. Something which could be redivided and transferred intact from one class in the community to another, like land under the old régime. But the new capitalism is, in M. Romier's phrase, a capitalism of dynamic wealth, "it exists only in so far as it circulates among all and all in turn aid and hasten its movement." It is the movement of circulation and not the static wealth that is the source of prosperity.

Now, it is in America where the new economic system developed freely with unlimited space and unlimited natural resources at its disposal, that we can see this dynamic capitalism in full working order. America, and not Russia, is the true example of the moulding of a society by economic forces. "In universities and schools," writes M. Romier, "the particular importance of such and such an episode in the political history of the U.S.A. is still discussed with dreadful earnestness. But the truth is that the American people owes nothing of any significance to politics, which were always rather colourless at best in their case, and if not more so than elsewhere played at least a much more passive part in their real destiny. Not only has the U.S.A. known no classical moulds whatsoever, neither monarchistic, nor municipal, nor military ones, neither a State Religion, nor vassalage to a King, nor vassalage to a faith, but from its very birth it has been dominated almost exclusively by economic forces This enormous social organism in which, under an iron-handed police, the most novel as well as the most traditional forms of human activity are carried on at amazing speed and on a colossal scale, has been built up as if at one stroke and without any serious attention to either political ideals or theories of civil administration." (p. 120.)

IN America we have the example of a society which is not checked by tradition, by political forms and precedents or by internal friction between classes, but which is able to devote its whole powers to the economic exploitation of the natural resources of a continent.

THUS the most capitalistic society the world has ever seen is at the same time a good working example of collectivism. It is certainly easy to criticise American culture, but not from the purely economic standpoint. The Marxian criticism that private property and individual enterprise hinder the perfect functioning of the economic forces fails here completely. The true criticism of American civilisation is not that it is uneconomic, but that it is too economic—that the economic interpretation of society is but too completely realised and

that there is not sufficient room left for those non-economic functions and values which played such a large part in the older societies.

ON the other hand, in Europe we must admit that the socialist criticisms do in some measure hold good. European society is at present imperfectly economised. Political frontiers strike across economic frontiers, so that the great industrial units, such as that of Northern France and Belgium or that of Silesia, are partitioned between different national states with an obvious loss of economic efficiency. Moreover, in Europe there is a real class conflict—the social classes do not always represent economic realities. They still rest to some extent on inherited privilege and prestige. And from this point of view it is highly significant that communism has won its great victory in the one country in which the old pre-capitalist caste divisions still existed almost intact. The foundation of the Russian Revolution was not a conflict of economic interest, but an opposition of social traditions and even of civilisations. Nowhere else in Europe was the cultural gap between the classes so wide. For, ever since the days of Peter the Great, the upper classes had been drawn into the circle of Western civilisation, while the common people preserved their traditional Slav and peasant culture. Even in the towns the industrial population still preserved the mental habits of their peasant forbears. The Russian Revolution was essentially a *Jacquerie*—that is to say, mediæval in type—though it was a modern interpretation or rationalisation by the Marxian theorists who ultimately controlled it.

BY its emphasis on the opposition of classes, socialism is actually a reactionary force, since it tends to split the economic mass along uneconomic lines, to introduce an unessential division into the group, and thus to set back the process towards the attainment of complete mass-solidarity and united group-action.

So, too, the socialist principle of state ownership, though at first sight it appears genuinely collectivist, is really a premature collectivism which would interfere with the new economic tendencies by reinforcing those national political divisions which are actually among the chief sources of difficulty in the European economic situation.

THE great problem with which modern Europe has to deal is not fully realised by any of the political parties, either Conservative or Socialist. It is the problem of the incomplete adjustment of our political and social system to the new economic forces. The peoples of Western Europe, above all, England and Germany, have developed the new industrial commercial economy hardly less intensely than the U.S.A., but in their case it has been built up in an historical and geographical framework that is much too narrow for it. That they were able to do it at all was due, especially in the case of Great Britain, to their political power which gave them a temporary hegemony in the old world and

made it possible for them to exploit the less developed peoples and to become the workshops of the world. But now that they are faced with the competition of the U.S.A. and the economic revolt of the more backward peoples, who now aspire to industrial independence, their situation is a much less favourable one. They have a far larger population than is warranted by the extent of their territory and their reserves of natural resources. They are forced to rely for their continued prosperity on the control of extra-European markets and colonial sources of raw materials, and this leads to an intense rivalry which involves international war or at least a competition in armaments. So long as this condition continues, juridical methods for the attainment of world peace cannot lead to security.

Now the apparently obvious remedy for this state of things is to scrap the nationalist tradition, sweep away the frontiers and organise Europe as a gigantic economic unity—the United States of Europe. We should then have an organism which would far surpass the U.S.A. in population, in military power and possibly even in wealth, for the new federation would be able to control Africa and a large part of Asia and Australasia, and would possess an unlimited field on which to draw for raw materials.

BUT we have only to consider this solution for a moment to see that it is impossible. Canada and Australia would certainly prefer to throw in their lot with the U.S.A. rather than be controlled by an omnipotent European federation, and we should have the anomalous situation of a world federation of English-speaking peoples from which only Britain was excluded. On the other hand, if Britain joined the other English-speaking peoples, the situation of the European federation would be almost impossible, for it would be deprived of the command of the sea and of the greater part of its colonial resources. It would still suffer from the problem of over-population and lack of overseas markets, &c.

AND these are only the external and material difficulties. There is also the internal problem of how to reconcile such an international society with that intense nationalism of the Western European culture-tradition, which is bound up with our moral and intellectual ideals. For that which is highest in the culture of each country is just the element which is most original and characteristic. Would not the abandonment of political nationalism bring with it the loss of cultural originality—the reduction of the different national civilisations to a common level of undistinguished cosmopolitanism, like that of a large hotel?

AND this brings us to the second great problem which confronts modern Europe, namely, how to reconcile the 19th Century tradition of political liberalism and parliamentarism with the new social and

economic forces. This tradition, as M. Romier points out, was the creation of the middle classes alike in England and on the Continent, men such as Bentham and Mill, de Tocqueville, Guizot and Cavour. And it was very closely connected with the theories of the political economists with their insistence on individualism and *laissez faire* and their hostility to state intervention. To-day, not only are the old individualistic economics discredited, but the middle class itself is losing its hold on public life.

M. ROMIER finds the key to the whole recent development of democratic politics in "the rapid decline in influence from one election to another, of the liberal and individualistic middle class. This class, placed outside of the essential economic organism, with interests apart, perceives its field of political action shrinking steadily in measure with the spread and dominance of mass-economics." One system of this process is the decline of liberalism as compared with the political forces of the left and the right, both of which represent primarily economic forces. But a much more fundamental symptom is the decline of parliamentarism itself, the revival of dictatorships and authoritarian forms of government in so many countries, and the weakening and discrediting of representative institutions in those countries where they are still dominant.

LIBERAL parliamentarism and republicanism is not, as the 19th Century believed, the obvious culmination of all political development, it is, as M. Romier says, "the most agreeable and the most fragile of all régimes." It requires, in order to be successful, a state of social and economic stability, the control of politics by a leisured class, an agreement between the different political parties on fundamental matters, which is also an agreement to differ within certain limits, and the subordination of economic to political questions. But with the predominance of economic interests and the formation of these economic masses of which I have spoken, these favourable conditions no longer exist. Either the political parties become identified with class-interests and thus lead to a state of social antagonism which destroys the moral authority of the government, as has already happened in Italy and as seems about to be happening in Austria, or else the economic mass-interests gain control of the political parties and use them as tools in their struggle with their rivals, a state of things which has been common in the U.S.A. and of which we see some signs in Europe. In either case the freedom of the individual and the ideal of government by open debate and the free development of opinion go to the wall before the mass-pressure of impersonal economic forces.

MOREOVER, the decline of the middle classes is not merely of political importance, it involves a cultural change of a much more fundamental character. Ever since the Renaissance, European civilisation has been

the civilisation of a leisured class, it has been based on those ideals of self-culture and the exaltation of the individual which we name Humanism. This ideal has been passed on from the nobles and scholars of the Renaissance to the ruling classes of modern Europe, and has been broadened and popularised as the creed of Liberal democracy. In England, perhaps, it retained something of its aristocratic character, but in France, the centre of humanist-culture, it became very widely extended and even reached the artisan class. Every Frenchman put before himself the ideal of gaining enough money to possess leisure and to devote himself to the art of living.

BUT in the new economic mass-culture which has found its highest development in the U.S.A., these ideals have been abandoned. The individual must subordinate himself to the economic group. There is little room left for the life of cultured leisure as a social ideal. The man of leisure is despised as an idler and social prestige belongs to the worker. But the test of success is quantitative not qualitative. A man is judged, not by the character of his work, but by the money that he makes. Society has become an economic organism which judges its members by economic standards. This ideal has its apparent justification in the material prosperity that it produces. The life of the ordinary man has become more enjoyable and richer in material circumstances than it has ever been in the past. But it also involves a sacrifice of individual freedom and a certain lowering of cultural ideals. In order to realise the full possibilities of the new machine-civilisation, man has had to subject himself to its laws, to become himself the servant if not the slave of the machine. Corresponding to the economic mass we have the social mass, ruled despotically by the crowd spirit. The mental life of the mass depends not on the intensive intellectual culture of its individual members as was the case with the old leisured class, but in standardised ways of life and thought. Men are governed, not by their individual convictions, but by the organs of group-opinion, advertisement, publicity, "slogans" of all kinds, to use a significant modern expression. The two extreme forms of this development are to be seen in Russia and in America. The Russian organisation of mass-thought and mass-emotion is more systematic, and, as Füllop-Müller has shown in his interesting book—*THE MIND AND FACE OF BOLSHEVISM*—has produced a regular cult of the machine, but it is a more artificial movement and consequently, perhaps, more superficial. In America it has grown up as the natural social expression of the new material civilisation and has conquered men's minds without their being fully aware of it. And it is the American, not the Russian system, which is spreading with such remarkable rapidity in Western Europe. This Americanisation of European society is deplored by the idealists—whether Conservatives or Radicals. They fear, not without cause, that our civilisation is being barbarised. That is the refrain of

so many writers like Clive Bell and T. S. Eliot in England, and Julien Benda in France, while in the U.S. themselves the weaknesses of the American type of civilisation are being pointed out remorselessly by writers such as Mencken and H. Sinclair Lewis, and on the philosophical side by Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More.

HOWEVER, lamenting over the present tendencies of civilisation will not change them, or bring back the conditions under which the old individualistic humanism flourished. The political democracy of the ballot box and representative institutions may be impermanent, but no power on earth can put back the social democracy of the cinema, the popular press and the motor bicycle. If the intellectual—whether artist or scientist—is to find a place in the new society, the old attitude of aristocratic aloofness—the *odi profanum vulgus et arceo*—must be abandoned.

FORTUNATELY, however, the situation is not so black as writers like Mr. Mencken would have us believe. There is a real element of idealism in popular American culture, even though it is of a naive and unenlightened type. As M. Romier writes: "the modern masses are not closed to ideas, but they want them and understand them only within the limits of their own experience or their own most constant and vital preoccupations. The problem is not to level all thought down to mass tendencies; but to answer the questions posed by the masses. If the pure scientist or philosopher who is capable of originality and leadership refuses to answer—then some slave of the crowd, some low journalist or venal politician, avid of popularity and profit, will answer instead."

It is here that Western Europe possesses a great opportunity, as well as a great responsibility. The new mass-civilisation as it exists in America, has reached a far more advanced stage than elsewhere and is more difficult to modify. In Europe, however, it is still in the process of formation, and the traditions of the older culture are still strong, consequently it ought to be possible for us to take warning by the mistakes that have been made elsewhere, as German industrialism avoided some of the worst errors of the earlier English industrialism. Western Europe is still the leader in the things of the mind, in art, literature and science, and she cannot sacrifice this leadership for the material prosperity of Main Street.

ON the other hand, the ordinary man in Europe demands the same social opportunities and the same fullness of life which the material civilisation of America seems to offer, and he will not be compensated for the lack of this by any purely intellectual tradition of culture. In some way or other, we must combine both these elements and preserve the intellectual traditions of European culture in the midst of the

material expansion of the new mass-civilisation. And the solution to the other main questions which I have discussed must be sought along the same lines of a middle policy.

FOR instance, with regard to internationalism, we cannot abandon the principle of nationality for that of a cosmopolitan state, though the latter might solve our purely economic problems. What is wanted is not a Wellsian internationalism (which is also an anti-nationalism), but a working policy of European co-operation. The future of Europe depends on the three great Western nations—France, Germany and Great Britain. If these could abandon their old quarrels and embark on a policy of political and economic co-operation, Western Europe could maintain its position of leadership, and it could develop a civilisation which would not be inferior even from the economic point of view to that of the U.S.A. If, on the other hand, the present tradition of nationalist rivalry and competition is continued, the existing state of tension can only increase and may lead to a complete economic breakdown.

FINALLY, within the national state itself there is the problem of the reconciliation of the traditions of political democracy and representative institutions with the new tendency to mass-organisation and dictatorship, whether of the Right or the Left. The three great Western peoples are still faithful to the Parliamentary system, but their allegiance is weakening and it can only be preserved if some method is found by which to set a limit to party spirit and class conflict, and to make the political system more representative of social and economic realities. The Fascist corporative state is an attempt in this direction, but it is weakened by its extreme authoritarianism and ultra-nationalism. Its great merit lies in its attempt to give direct political expression to all the existing economic and social elements in the material life, elements which are as a rule far from being represented by any political party system. Under the present régime, a government may represent the leaders of industry and in that case it excludes the workers, or it may represent the forces of organised labour, and then it is the financiers and the organising power in industry and commerce which are left out. In either case it is a lop-sided administration, without the social balance which a truly national government ought to possess. And an even more serious defect of the party system is its tendency to concentrate upon the unessential. It is obvious that the first consideration of a political party must be not the good government of the country, but the acquisition or preservation of power. When it has gained office no doubt it intends to do its best by the country and its supporters, but so long as it is out of office it is its interest that its opponents should govern the country as badly as possible. Thus a political red herring is dragged across the discussion of every social and economic

question. The elector is not encouraged to seek final solutions, since all the parties unite in assuring him that everything will be well if only he will give his vote to Sir Publius Clodius, or Mr. Catiline.

OF course, in practice the absurdities of the party system have been modified, especially in this country, by a tacit understanding between the different parties to co-operate in essential matters—an understanding which was rendered easier in the past by the fact that both sides belonged to a similar social stratum and were not deeply divided by economic interests. But with the passing of these factors, the situation in England is becoming essentially similar to that of the Continent, where the party system has either degenerated into a corrupt farce, as in Spain before the dictatorship, or has led to a more or less complete political deadlock, as in Italy. The success, both of the Bolsheviks and the Fascists, as well as of the numerous dictatorships, was due to the fact that they were forces from outside the political arena which had the energy to liquidate a situation that had become impossible. In England there is no question of putting a violent end to the party system, and even in France and Germany the constitutionalist forces are still strong.

NEVERTHELESS, in these countries also, if violent changes are to be avoided later on, it is necessary that new social forces should be developed, capable of renewing the old political forces which are gradually wearing out. At present the problem has not reached an acute stage, but undoubtedly the new generation must develop new organs of social leadership, if the stability of European civilisation is to be assured.

CONCLUSION.

TO RECAPITULATE. It would seem that the conditions of a full solution of the present crisis in European civilisation are :—

1. A POLICY of political and economic co-operation—a new and wider Entente—between the three great nations of Western Europe.
2. THE supersession of the party system and the government of a particular class by some form of corporative state, which will combine all the social and economic forces of the nation.
3. THE creation of new organs of social leadership in the nation—an aristocracy of service.
4. A BROADENING of the basis of culture ; it must be neither the exclusive possession of a leisured class as in the past, nor must it be debased to a popular ideal of material prosperity, as in U.S.A. We need a cultural ideal which will be high enough to appeal to the best minds in the society and wide enough to reach all classes.

MAN'S SOCIAL DESTINY.*

§ 1. PRESENT SOCIAL PESSIMISM.

Is man's social destiny in harmony with the vision of idealistic religion, and especially with that of the Christian religion? Or are scientific facts and the principles of social development such as to render the realisation of such a goal improbable and unreasonable? Obviously the whole future of Christianity as a social program and the whole future of our civilisation depend upon our answer to these questions. Even the religious and ethical life of the individual depend upon it, for it is not so much the pain and suffering of life which crushes the individual as its (apparent) meaninglessness and hopelessness. But the very form of our questions implies that we must seek their answer in the actual trends of our human world, and not in speculations about God and the universe.

THE pessimistic utterances of representative European and American thinkers cover a wide range of social phenomena, from the moral condition of youth to warlike attitudes and economic opportunities; but no one who understands human society can doubt that they are all closely linked together, and that together they form a very considerable indictment of our civilisation. It will hardly be claimed that they are all post-war developments which we can expect will soon pass away, for these tendencies have long been noted in the development of Western civilisation and nowhere more pronouncedly than in the United States. We can no longer base our hopes for the future of mankind upon the conditions of the present or upon the progress which we have recently made. We can neither prove nor disprove that the world is heading right at the present moment. If we reach a qualified optimism as to the future of mankind, it must be based upon the nature of man, the nature of human society, and the nature of culture.

§ 2. THE RESOURCES OF MANKIND.

If our world at the present time is one of rampant self-interest, it is because our culture is one which stimulates individual and group egoism, greed, fear, and pride. It is entirely conceivable that another sort of culture might stimulate equally altruism, sympathy, and mutual trust. The feelings and emotions of man are quite as capable of socialisation as any other element in human nature. Indeed, the essence of socialisation consists in so modifying the feelings of the individual that they harmonise with the welfare of his group. They may be made, therefore, to harmonise with the welfare of the largest possible human group, humanity, if culture takes that direction.

* An abstract of Professor C. A. Ellwood's new book, *MAN'S SOCIAL DESTINY IN THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE*, Cokesbury Press, Nashville. pp. 219. 1929. \$2.

THE theory that mankind has not sufficient intelligence to build a much higher civilisation than any yet achieved totally misrepresents the method of cultural advance. While culture is produced by the human mind, it is originated by the few and utilised by the many. The method of culture is invention, appreciation, diffusion, and accumulation. It builds a medium in which the individual lives, moves, and has his being; but it depends only indirectly upon the intelligence of the individual, because the cultural process itself creates intelligence in the individual in specific directions. As it proceeds by invention and accumulation, always building further upon the basis of past achievements, there are no limits to cultural development that are yet visible. It is not the bogies of over-population or impaired heredity, nor even the social inadequacies of human instincts, emotions or intelligence, which threaten to put a bar to social progress in the future, but rather the errors, mistakes, prejudices and stupidities which already exist in our culture. Every civilisation is filled with "lags in culture." Material culture changes more readily in a rational direction, because comparatively simple tests of efficiency can usually be applied to its objects. Spiritual culture, on the other hand, is supported by a tradition taught the younger generation by the elder; and until recently the only test that could be applied to it was this traditional knowledge. Thus our material culture has advanced by leaps and bounds until we find almost unlimited physical power in our hands; but our spiritual culture has lagged, and we find many of the traditions of barbarism still strong among us, especially the traditions of war and self-indulgence at the expense of others.

How can culture correct its own errors? It has been made by man and it can be remade by him. His creative intelligence, seeing mal-adjustments and possible betterments is, when given a chance, unceasingly at work modifying the pattern of life and setting forth new ideals to be realised. This creativeness is the first and the greatest resource of mankind. We must remember that, in any ultimate view, man and his culture are the creation of nature or of some spiritual principle immanent in nature. Even the very obstacles which lie across his path, the deficiencies of nature and the defects of human nature, have proved to be but the needed stimuli to man's achievements. When once we have got rid of the illusion that the end of man's life is happiness, we shall have little hesitation in pronouncing nature friendly to human achievement.

LET us note, however, that spiritual leadership, whether in social, political, moral, or religious lines, will avail little if the general cultural level of the people has not been raised to the point where they can appreciate it. Our civilisation hangs upon the outcome of the race between catastrophe and social, political, moral, and religious education; and these are just the kinds of education which we have been neglecting.

§ 3. THE FUTURE OF SCIENCE.

IF man is to perfect his culture, he must perfect the controls over culture. These are to be found chiefly in the non-material, or "spiritual" phases of culture, especially in science and education, government and law, religion and morality. Science is one of the controls most commonly misunderstood. It is the acknowledged basis of our material civilisation. Can it become the basis of our spiritual civilisation?

IN the broad sense of "tested knowledge" science is fundamental in the process of culture development. It is experience tested, verified, and universalised. It is, in brief, organised intelligence; and while man cannot live through intelligence alone, he will be successful in his living in proportion as he is guided by the accumulated and organised intelligence of mankind. But if science is to become the guiding element in the culture of the future, then it can be no narrow discipline, hemmed in by orthodoxies and traditional methods; it must itself become a movement toward knowledge of all reality and take all verifiable knowledge for its province. The scientific movement, however, instead of showing this tendency, would appear to be going to-day in the opposite direction, or, at least, to be keeping close to nineteenth-century scientific traditions.

JUST as physical light is necessary to physical sight, so the light of knowledge is necessary for that imaginative vision which gives rise to our religious faith, if we wish that vision to be sane and true and our faith a reasonable one. And even closer is the bearing of science upon morality. It should help us to discriminate values; its light should show us the way of safety, not only in the physical world, but also in human relations; not only for the individual, but also for nations. Men can live in our complex world only by tested knowledge, and if science will not furnish it to them in the world of qualities and values, then some other instrument of culture will attempt to do so, and science will sink to second-rate importance in the guidance of life. Physical science alone can never assume this function because it leaves culture largely out of account, and all the most important values of the human world are wrapped up in culture. Even such a general science as sociology will be a useless and "dead" science if it can contribute nothing to the solution of the political, moral, and religious problems of human society.

IF science becomes once thoroughly humanistic, the whole field of relative standards, values, and ideals in human relations will become objects of scientific determination. The social sciences will expand in their normative and applied aspects. If humanity can secure standards based upon tested knowledge in government, in morals, in religion, and in education, then progress in civilisation will enter upon

a new phase. The conflicts which we now find so commonly in the minds of individuals between their scientific knowledge, their ethical ideals, their philosophical beliefs, and their religious faith would disappear.

§ 4. THE FUTURE OF GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT is that phase of civilisation which has to do with external coercive social control. It provides the framework within which the life of the individual and of the group moves. So important is it that it is impossible to perfect our social culture unless we perfect government. Yet if the world is muddled in regard to its religion, morals and science, it is even more muddled in its politics.

QUITE evidently the problem before our immediate political future is how political traditions which are pagan rather than Christian can be transformed into instruments of civilised government and of international co-operation. The conception of government and law as essentially social welfare agencies will have to be substituted for the conception of government as essentially military in character. The Soviet and Fascist experiments in autocracy do not repudiate this conception. On the contrary, they claim to be vastly more efficient as agencies of social welfare than any form of democratic government could possibly be. If benevolent autocracy is the best form of government, as intellectuals have often claimed, then it is fast arriving. But deeper questions remain. Is benevolent socially minded autocracy the final form of government? If not, can autocracy prepare for democracy or self-government?

To take up the last question first. There is little evidence that autocracy in and of itself can prepare for self-government. This is not to deny that it may sometimes be best for peoples that are culturally and morally immature, and that the freeing of those peoples should be a gradual process of practising them in the responsibilities of self-government. The great condemnation of autocracy is that it keeps the people politically children. Its very strength depends upon their weakness and subserviency. It brings under subjection and control education, religion, the press, industry, and practically all other cultural activities. Hence cultural evolution is arrested or perverted in the interest of a ruling class.

DEMOCRACIES, on the other hand, are supposed to leave free these phases of culture to pursue an independent development; they encourage every individual to think and judge for himself. They may result, therefore, temporarily in many aberrant developments in civilisation; but in the long run they promote cultural evolution, since free variation is the basis of all evolution. They cannot survive when the level of the intelligence and the morality of the people is

low. Democratic governments can rise only as high as their source, which is in the intelligence and character of the mass of their citizens. Since the development of the resources which are in men is of the very essence of the civilising process, the chief business of democracies must be to support and promote education.

WE have no right to despair, as yet, even of our present experiments in democracy: there is no good reason for predicting that the whole world is soon to go through a stage of party dictatorships similar to Fascist Italy or Soviet Russia. There is especially no reason to expect this if we are vigilant in seeing that our democratic governments aim at justice and peace for all, at the material well-being and spiritual development of the people. But we would emphasise that they cannot stand alone. They depend upon the intelligence and character of their individual citizens, and this is equivalent to saying that they depend upon the progress of science and religion. More and more they will have to look to science, especially to the social and political sciences, for aid in the solution of their problems. But the crux of the problem lies in democracy's relation to religion. If Christian ideals decay among the mass of our people, and particularly among those possessed of privilege and power, we may expect democratic government will come into disfavour. If the social ideals of Christianity are impracticable, so are those of democracy. Its destiny upon this planet is inextricably bound up with the destiny of religion. Both are phases of human culture, and so are dependent upon that transmission and enhancement of culture which we call the process of education.

§ 5. THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION.

THAT the function of the schools should be the transmission and general development of culture along all lines was an idea which gained no practical acceptance until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and one which is still very imperfectly embodied in our educational system. Even yet the mass of our educators balk at the idea that our schools should assume the responsibility of leadership in civilisation, and aim to produce the fully rational and social man who can help to build a culture which embodies the true, the good, and the beautiful in the highest degree.

JUDGED from the standpoint of its leadership in culture, our educational system must be rated low. For some years past its trend has undoubtedly been materialistic. Science has been exalted, to be sure, but science has been confused with physical science; and even then what has been taught has been not so much the spirit of science as the results of science as a basis for vocational and economic success. Even where the older cultural traditions remain, it is often a mere worship of the past.

SHOULD the school be freed from the tyranny of custom and community dictation? The reply is that if the school aims at the liberation of the human mind it must be free from the dictation of these not less than of political government. The school in its teaching can acknowledge no authority but that of the truth. Historically, school education has always been bound up closely with propaganda, if we define propaganda as an effort to get people to accept certain definite beliefs. If it is to be this, education should be propaganda for those broad principles which underlie all successful human living, all developments of culture, all human progress, such as the love of truth and right, of justice and fair play, of freedom of thinking, investigation, and discussion, of the welfare of humanity, and of each human group as a part of humanity. It dare not be a propaganda for any particular form of the phases of culture without danger of fettering the human spirit. The school should exist not to teach orthodoxies in belief, scientific, religious or political, but to assist in the development of culture and in the building of our human world. The function of education is nothing less than that.

IF we continue to progress, then we must discover that the next step is the humanising and socialising of education, just as in science the next step is the development of the human and social sciences. For in the building of our human world, the fundamental adjustments to be made are those of individuals and groups to one another, even more than adjustments of individuals to physical nature. It is now generally recognised that vocational training is, at most, only a phase of a socialised education which aims primarily not at producing efficient engineers, physicians, lawyers or teachers, but intelligent citizens. The fully social man, the man who can function intelligently and helpfully in every social group of which he is a part from the family to humanity, is the aim and object of socialised education. Besides the special training for a socially useful occupation or vocation which shall complete it, such an education involves three other fundamental objectives.

THE first is the freeing and the training of the mind of the individual. If the intelligence of man is that on which we must rely in culture building, then we should free it not only from ignorance and superstition, but from mere traditionalism and group prejudices.

THE second objective is the imparting of definite social information and of getting the student acquainted with our human world. One great source of the difficulties of the present is that every little group in the world is generally ignorant of how every other group lives. This ignorance leads to isolation, suspicion, misunderstandings and hatred. A socialised education means that the studies—history, anthropology, sociology, politics, economics, and ethics—shall be given the central place in the curriculum of our schools, flanked on

the one side by language, on the other by the natural sciences. There is little use to train leaders for a democratic world if we leave the masses socially ignorant. The problem of the education of the future will be not how to produce great men, but great societies which will respond to intelligent leadership. Imagination is the basis of all culture—of religion, art, science, and even good citizenship. The education of the future should concern itself with developing social imagination in the young if it wishes them to be able to adjust themselves to our complex world and to carry forward civilisation. It should teach them to identify themselves in their imagination with all men everywhere.

BUT socialised education will not stop with the giving of mere information about our human world. It will inculcate correct social values. This is its third task and the heart of the matter. But it will also probably recognise that the public school is not the best place for moral education; that the home and the Church are also fundamental institutions peculiarly fitted to give moral education to the young, and that a wise public policy will work for the strengthening and upbuilding of these institutions rather than to unload everything upon the school. It should undoubtedly pay more attention to the education of the emotions, and particularly of the nobler emotions, as these are quite as important in the transmission and safeguarding of culture as is the critical intelligence. It is just at this point that our schools have probably made their biggest failure.

IT is hardly necessary to say that an education which socialises the intelligence and character, the emotions and values, of individuals, is not far from a religious education.

§ 6. THE FUTURE OF RELIGION.

RELIGION is a valuing attitude toward life and toward the universe. When it is positive, rather than negative, it is faith in the universe and in the possibilities of life. All culture is a matter of value, but religion is the effort of society to order and, so to speak, evaluate those values. It strives to get values of life and death, of the known and the unknown, which shall harmonise with man's aspirations and wishes. It is a means of adjustment used by human beings in establishing harmonious relations with their fellow beings, on the one hand, and with the mysterious powers of the universe, on the other. Religion is thus not merely a psychological experience of the individual, but it is also a phase of culture.

MAN will never cease to need a positive, constructive, trustful attitude toward the universe and the whole system of things. The problem of life, so far as we can see, will always remain for the great mass of

human beings a hard one. Not less in the future than in the past, they will always have to confront their world with hope and courage and faith, and with loyalty, goodwill, and devotion to their fellows, if human life is to be lived successfully. Religion by universalising these values, gives a fuller meaning to life, encourages hope, strengthens endurance in suffering, intensifies loyalty to ideals, prevents pessimism, despair, and degeneracy. More and more all religion is becoming an interpretation of man's moral experiences; more and more the authority to which we appeal is not mere tradition, or the doctrine of some Church, but the moral experience of mankind.

OF course there can be no union, nor even co-operation, between a science which is a mere tracing of mechanical cause and effect and a religion which explains human experience in terms of supernatural agents. But if the future can free itself from both the scientific and the religious dogmatist, the co-operation of the human sciences and religion is inevitable. Developed science and developed religion are not independent but interdependent, as phases of one common culture. Knowledge and faith are not mutually exclusive but are working partners in the process of successful living.

BUT the real problem of religion lies in the nature of the universe and of the human soul. If the universe is a mere mechanism, a mere whirlpool of physical energy; if the spiritual or nonmaterial has no reality or power, then religion has no reality and no place in rational culture except as illusion. Now every developed religion is characterised by certain essential doctrines and central to these are the doctrine of God, and the doctrine of sin and salvation. God is religion's name for the universe under its spiritual aspect, the aspect that makes it akin with man's spiritual nature. Man and his intelligence are a part of nature, of the universe, and not only a part but the highest and most complex part; we cannot believe that he is absolutely different from it without violating that principle of continuity upon which all science is based. If there is a spiritual element in man, it must have come from the universe, or from the power behind physical nature; and its potency must be greater in the universe than in man, since its development in him is still so incomplete.

SIN is the sense on the part of man of imperfection, so far as he feels himself responsible for it. It is this sense which leads him to strive in his moral life toward perfection. It is precisely the lack of a sense of sin which is the most discouraging thing in modern religious life. We have no adequate sense of our moral imperfections, and hence no sure hope of improvement.

If, then, religion is the mastery of the conditions of life, it must rise above these foundations to its real work, the redemption of our human

world and the building of a world of truth, beauty and goodness. It was Jesus who perceived that this problem was both individual and social, that the individual character and the social order should both express the divine ideal. The place of Jesus and his teaching is the commanding problem of the religion of the future, because he made the centre and core of it the radical concept of a kingdom of God upon earth and so in effect presented a demand for a new world. No matter how far we advance in our ethical and religious development, we cannot get away from his teaching that the only way to serve God is through the service of men. It socialises both religion and ethics and places both in the service of the progress of mankind.

RELIGION is the creator and the conservator of our social ideals ; and the Church is their chief propagator. The Church of the future will turn freely to scientific knowledge, to education, and to government for means of eliminating errors and correcting evil. But it will do something which none of these can do—it will inspire men not only in the redemption of individuals but in the redemption of communities and of mankind. It will pledge its members to dedicate their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour to the redemption of humanity from sin and ignorance. It will be an army for human salvation, working, however, not with the blare of trumpets, but quietly with adequate knowledge, with unfaltering faith in God and with unlimited love toward men. Such a Church may never arrive. But if not, the cause of Christ will perish from the earth, and with it the civilisation which has fostered us.

PROGRESS AND RELIGION : AN HISTORICAL ENQUIRY*:
by Christopher Dawson.

I.

FROM a scholar so profound in his learning and so animated in his intelligence as Mr. Dawson, we expect and receive no unremarkable book. Historians, considering human mutability in many regions and places, recording alike the sordid and the glorious motions of the spirit of Man, are, on the whole, folk of a sceptical temper. Mr. Dawson, very much aware of all the absurdities and errors of poor mortality on its Progress from caves of terror and wonder, through many great cities, empires, and cultures, to the present era of disintegration, has yet been able to accept the discipline of a Religion which, whatever its grace and majesty, does not permit its children to speak with an unbridled tongue. His attitude to life is that of the scholar and Contemplative who, from the security of his personal solution of the social problem, sympathetically observes the turmoil without, and makes a brilliant effort to reconcile the only forces that still seem to carry some authority,—science with its new spiritual interests, such as evolutionary vitalism and the dynamic emotionalism of the Church. This is a reconciliation he desires at almost any cost, even, some readers might feel, the cost of sincerity.

SACRIFICE of sincerity, one hastily adds, would not be made by Mr. Dawson. It is only a certain evasion in the end, concerning intellectual concessions, that rouses a faint anxiety lest some particle of the passion for absolute truth might have to perish if this Concordat came to pass.

YET with such unimpeachable courtesy does Mr. Dawson present this possible alliance for the salvation of Christendom and its culture that, if all men were as reasonable as he, the Truce of God might again spread its wings over Europe for awhile, and the mortal differences of nations be burned away in a crusade more sublimated and more loyal to its motive than any yet chronicled. A true Spiritual Progress might be resumed at last. The author's mind is so flexible, his mood so tolerant, his urbanity so patient, his vision of the slow processes of time so far-gazing and so acute, that any reader must be impressed, if not persuaded. He writes with ease and lucidity, at moments rising on effortless pinion into passages of imaginative passion and sombre irony, at others, after some scrupulous analysis, without even raising his voice, so to speak, achieving some sudden and insidious attack. Indeed these more daring qualities are perhaps too determinedly repressed. Some readers not without value may find the book keyed too low for its theme. Mr. Dawson subdues his argument for the ears of the theorists and the scientists, for the colder type of intellectuals,—heroically, subtly, and even sometimes a little

* Sheed and Ward. 1929. 10/6.

casuistically, indicating that religion can be a rational matter, and that, in the dim ages of magic, science indeed had its origin in sacred ritual. I know that the solemn audience thus addressed may nod a mild approval of his modest manners and thoughtfully weigh his suggestion, while names like Galileo's begin to stir in the back of the mind. They may even find a corner for ritual in their paper schema of life. But that they will ever take holy water at the carven doors of the miraculous amazing cathedral which is Christianity, that they will ever surrender to the indescribable silver sound of the bell during the Mystery of the Elevation of the Host, one cannot easily believe. Meanwhile those wistful dualists whose reason has not sucked away all the vibration from their nerves and the rose from their blood are not served. Mr. Dawson is so eager to placate the scientific intellectuals that occasionally he almost turns the half-mystic into a complete rationalist, a chimerical metamorphosis achieved by asking them to receive as historic fact what is obscurely but passionately believed only by the imagination.

II.

MR. BRANFORD'S note on "Progress and Culture" in the last number of this magazine indicated how vast was the survey of space and time covered by this comparatively brief volume. I had intended to make a more detailed abstract, but am compelled to a brevity unfair to Mr. Dawson's packed pages. Those who are considering the social phenomena of the day must read the entire book. Even if the solution proposed be unacceptable, the horizons of the mind will be widened, the sense of history be enriched and excited.

THE theme of the book is the Rise, Decline and Fall of that Idea of material Progress which, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, took on the mystic force of a religious impulse. For some considerable time now "Progress" has ceased to be the Ineffable Name that stirred the world to new mechanic conquests and profitable invasions. Bereft of its comfortable optimism, we shiver, Mr. Dawson thinks, shelterless in disillusionment. Since, in an era of admitted disintegration, only the activities of science have escaped exhaustion, he develops a hope that such scientists as the evolutionary vitalists, with their theory of the soul and its God emergent from matter, might find nobler satisfaction in the great tradition of the Church with its doctrine of Incarnation. The modern idea of Progress is described as the descendant of Renaissance culture and Cartesian Rationalism. Tracing its fortunes in the nineteenth century, he presents a very clear description and conclusive criticism of Spenglerism, as one of the more picturesque and popular reactions against the deposed ideal. He next examines Anthropology for evidence concerning racial progress, discussing the two main theories of culture-development, and, referring to the analyses of Le Play,

admits the material and primitive foundations of all culture. But from these he passes to the spiritual element at work in human expression from the days of the palæolithic cave-artists, and goes on to observe, very finely, that "the ultimate barriers between peoples are not those of race or language or regions, but those differences of spiritual outlook and tradition which are seen in the contrast of Hellene and Barbarian, Jew and Gentile, Moslem and Hindu, Christian and Pagan. . . . Behind every civilisation there is a vision—a vision which may be the unconscious fruit of ages of common thought or action, or which may have sprung from the sudden illumination of a great prophet or thinker." From the comparative study of religions he draws some moving and lyrical expressions of an early mysticism divining the sole Energy behind material phenomena; and makes a necessary distinction between mythology and religion. It was the self-sufficient eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that were entirely insensible to the importance of religion in culture. In the beginning of human society, the seer, the medicine man, the Shaman, the mediator, is the revered personage. Shamanism develops (and hardens) into the social order of priesthood, and religion strictly invests the life of the tribe. Then arise the archaic cultures based on ritual; the co-ordination of cosmic and social orders in the ancient civilisations of America, China, and India are described with rhythmic dignity. Chapter Six, the most impressive part of the book, deals with the rise of the World-religions during the unrest and aspiration of the first millennium B.C. The self-criticism set up by barbarian invaders and shattered cultures, shook the ritual order into moral and spiritual law, and man became aware of his own soul. More especially in India was made the great advance towards the vision of an Absolute, transcending the world order; there also the ethic of renunciation reached its extreme altitude in Buddhism. The quietist mysticism of Tao was also life-refusing. But the ancient rites of the old nature-worship steadily maintained by the peasantry, succoured the material Earth that had become mere illusion to the lofty new religions, and even contaminated them with their ancient symbolism. Greece has its Orphism; but Empedocles and Plato work out an intellectual mysticism. The Greek thinkers, however, like the Oriental, remain under the dominion of the cyclic notion of change, which, refusing the idea of Progress, must be accompanied by fatalism and pessimism. At least, Mr. Dawson will have it so.

THE Hebraic religion is unmetaphysical, monotheistic, and dependent on history: it becomes so identified with its people that the defeat of Israel means the ultimate triumph of its jealous God. On its emotional side, Messianic and Apocalyptic, it flowers into Christianity. The vision of Jesus brings the doctrine of the Incarnation, which implies a new kind of humanity and the possibility of a new world

order, since it initiates a progress towards the deification of humanity, so breaking the inevitability of the cyclic return. Modified by many racial influences, Christianity is rescued from Byzantine formalism by the practical Latin genius, as expressed, for example, by the social theology of the City of God. We hear of the civilising work of the Papacy and the Benedictine monasteries ; and of the power of the Church in the mediæval period when Europe became a kind of federation of states held loosely in an ecclesiastical unity. The secularisation of the Church was prevented by the revival of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Saint Francis "returned to Nature" with his Cantic to the Sun. Saint Thomas in his scholastic synthesis shows an absolute intellectualism, though he is, in some ways, rational and scientific. With the approach of the Early Renaissance independent national cultures and purely secular powers declare themselves. The Renaissance was the reassertion of Latin culture, and the Reformation the effort of Northern Europe to obtain an independent culture. Luther was the leader of the simple against the complex. Renaissance and Reformation, however, are both secular in their aims. Leonardo's experiments are mentioned ; and modern science is described as descending from the artistic genius of the Renaissance and the mathematical idealism of Plato. The account of religious matters in mediæval and Renaissance times seems to me far too simplified ; but let that pass meanwhile. When the era of toleration succeeds much war, ostensibly on behalf of religious opinion, a European unity of culture is restored on a basis of science, and we enter the age of pure Reason, when doctrines of human perfectibility and indefinite progress supplant the religious ideals from which they borrowed their fire. German philosophers, English Utilitarians, Rousseau himself, lending the rosy glow of his emotionalism to the doctrinaire theories of the Revolution, all draw their enthusiasms from religious ideals they despise. So, later, do Godwin, Shelley, Marx, and the Socialists, in their apocalyptic fervour. Mr. Dawson now repeats in a more detailed way, his account of the Industrial Revolution as brought about by English Protestantism with its special asceticism of thrift and overwork, and its apotheosis of Progress. Apparently justified at first by its material success, it has concluded in revolt and depression. For, since the sixteenth century, Europe is distracted. Philosophy has now failed us. The scientific determinism of the nineteenth century has been abandoned. But science is no substitute for philosophy, much less for religion, for it will serve any powers. In this Age of the Cinema, its social task is to provide sensations. After commenting on the present revolutionary mood of society, Mr. Dawson, in his concluding chapter, considerably surprises us. For, in advocating a return to Christianity as the only solution for our distress, his tone alters, his words are confusing, his statements are arbitrary, and we are left in positive doubt as to what he regards as Christianity.

THE secularisation of a society involves the devitalisation of that society, he begins. Western Europe owes to Christianity her cultural unity, though the scientific tradition derived from Greece is also powerful. Still, science is not dynamic. Possibly the two traditions are not mutually inconsistent. The modern mind demands a religion of action and a justification of material progress. The theories of evolutionary vitalism have found favour, but these are only a repetition of the Religion of Progress, a new kind of Deism. Besides, humanitarianism is peculiar to the Christian religion; it is not obviously derivative from biological values. "Either Europe must abandon the Christian tradition and with it the faith in progress and humanity, or it must return consciously to the religious foundation on which those ideas were based." (Not a true alternative.) Christianity, as a religion with a history, has a progressive character: it is in fact the true Religion of Progress. Science can find its dynamic in a true historic religion. Both have power; and a co-ordination of their forces is necessary. So might Europe be restored to a spiritual unity; and peace be assured, not by the creation of a superstate, but by the goodwill of a spiritual society. We are left a little dazed, having been advised to return to Christianity, not because it is beautiful, or true, or compassionate; but because it is a practical this-worldly kind of religion, that has evidently, in a progressive way, put off the mystical habit.

III.

READERS of a reflective and responsive type will often find themselves in complete agreement with Mr. Dawson until they come to the last chapter, when they may feel that he has rushed his conclusions, made improbable suggestions, juggled with words, even falsified history by sins of omission, and, worst of all, lost his sweet reasonableness. This is partly because he never explains to what type of Christianity he urges us to return. The pre-Christian part of the book is admirable. Gazing on humanity's Progress towards its unknown End, we are troubled by a heavy sense of pathos, so desperate and so various are its efforts to know itself and its God. Perhaps the historian's style is diluted with phrases too abstract when he deals with the metaphysicians, but that is inevitable. The formal metaphysicians too often arrive, with much expense of cloudy words, at a simple truth caught casually long before by a poet from the wing of some bright image, from the unearthly bell of an overheard rhythm. But how keenly he discerns the pensive shape of primitive man, figuring out divinity! And what a marvellous chapter is that on the Rise of the World Religions—hovering over the spiritual alterations of continents, delicately penetrating the alien ecstasies and life-protecting rituals of Syria, Egypt, India, and China. Equally energetic, though naturally less stately, is his account of the densely optimistic Mechanical Age.

He allows it some virtues, even overstating that humanitarianism which, after all, stopped short of interference when it meant financial loss. His climax of indictment, ironic and unanswerable, is none the less deadly. Therefore we are all the more startled to find that, in the last chapter, he seems to think the "modern mind" must desire a religion that could "justify" these two centuries of "Progress." Would we not be unspeakably ashamed of them if they were not surprisingly rich in a literature and a painting that never became part of daily life? But again he says of Marx: "For what was that social revolution in which he put his hope but a nineteenth century version of the Day of the Lord, in which the rich and powerful of the earth should be consumed, and the princes of the Gentiles brought low, and the poor and disinherited should reign in a regenerated universe." So adroitly does Mr. Dawson bring into his religious tradition its foes as well as its friends. In this case one has that shock of intellectual pleasure which accompanies the recognition of a true diagnosis.

OUR author so frequently gives this rare pleasure that it seems very ungrateful to complain of him at all. Also, Mr. Dawson is shadowed by the double authority of Church and University; and he is a specialist in many domains of history. I am a mere freelance about the Cities and Holy Places and waste lands of humanity: still, as one of the company whom he invites to return to Christianity or be renegade to civilisation, one may state, in one's ignorant way, some of our dissatisfactions.

It does not matter that one would fain ring some different changes in certain detailed historic values. What matters is that the author's charming manner, which he abandons only at the end, becomes now and then throughout the narrative almost *chatoyant*, that he occasionally proceeds by implication and contamination of terms, that the argument becomes fluid, and that, after the beginnings of Christianity he slurs and omits much that he should meet and conquer. At some points of his survey, when he cannot but be aware of the paradoxes and antinomies couched in the House of Adoration, he should cast a glittering spear of audacity. Then the unbecoming bludgeon would not be necessary at the end of his book.

IV.

FIRST, as to omission! Of course Mr. Dawson has not room in a book of this size to convey the complexity of every period that he traverses. Still, in disentangling from the pattern of time the thread of his theme, he does occasionally err by the over-simplification he himself attributes to the culture-theorists. After all, he is a generaliser, a theorist himself, from whom we can expect only partial truths.

Is this how Christianity was taken by the loving, hating, laughing, weeping human race, so "*divers et ondoyant*," in all its iridescent mobility continually escaping the formulæ of the philosophers? It was not. They sang in it, danced in it, mourned in it, brought their own festivals into it, carved their angels and grotesques on it, paganised it a good deal doubtless, but kept something of the sweet reality of Christ in it, and never thought of Progress once, as the great phrases of an Ave put their hearts to rest. The Angelical Doctors and anxious metaphysicians went on, of course, and were most important, but the folk kept religion alive.

THERE is no space here to take up all the challenges of Mr. Dawson's swift chapters. Students of ancient civilisations may discuss the transition between the archaic ritual religions and the great world-religions. The book raises a living issue; and it is with the story of Europe that we are chiefly concerned. The Hellenic ideal and inspiration seems to count too little with Mr. Dawson. True, he grants that modern science had its ultimate origin in Greece. But the city of Athens, like its Renaissance post-type Florence, wide to the sun and air and lovely hills, Greek art, Greek tragedy, Greek story, have so entered into our blood that in the remotest Hebrides the ritual Gaelic blessing couples the grace of Helen with the softness of Mary. Would not a young man to-day be more easily betrayed into conversation with the pagan Socrates than the Christian Aquinas? And did Plato's mathematics pass through the Renaissance temperament half so effectively as the doctrine of Platonic love? The Church saved some of the Greek tradition for us unconsciously; consciously it destroyed much more. Christianity does not carry all the civilisation of Europe in its ark. To the Latin tradition Mr. Dawson gives much more attention; and he moves very tactfully through the Early Fathers, so naive and arbitrary, so certain of their fiery doctrine, with great phrases flashing out from their arrogant comments on life. There is a special tribute for the author of "The City of God." But "Oriental" and "Orientalising" are used as a term of reproach, too frequently, one feels. Europe has often drawn life from Asia: theirs is a kind of fruitful duel. And is Christianity itself not an Asiatic religion?

INSINUATING orientalism and a bright paganism, escaped from late Latin poets, smoulder and dance through the Middle Ages, while the great Gothic cathedrals fill the skies with the dominance of God. In "the hegemony of states," lightly and not so surely held together by a common religious idea, there is astonishing interplay between sacred and secular; and religion cannot lay claim to the entire inspiration of that violent and delicate art. Strife of Holy Roman Emperors and Holy Rome, long exile in Avignon, strange heresies of love by Mediterranean shores, Dante thrusting Popes in Hell, Virgin-worship and romantic

love, the Templars burning on their pyres, Saint Jeanne d' Arc on hers, Aucassin willing to go to hell "with all the good company," Saint Francis singing his way to heaven with some good company too,—religion has warring elements to reconcile, but does. It is the rise of the Guildhall and the Tower of the People over against the Steeple or Campanile which speaks of the secular will of the City to maintain its freedom even against the Church. The Renaissance, when Europe discovered beauty as an end in itself, and the æsthetic emotion as a fresh stimulus to life, became in course of incessant war, and the overthrow of Italy by barbarian forces, exhausted, frigid, and cynical. Mr. Dawson alludes chiefly to post-Renaissance phenomena of secularisation. Still, the religious idea made some remarkable experiments in Italy, with the platonising group of the tender Ficino in Florence, and, later, with the Oratory of the Divine Love in Rome. The desire to reconcile the New Learning with the Christian God persists awhile, for there is no violent break between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. But, with secularised Popes, so eager to become temporal and dynastical princes, and the consequent Sack of Rome by frenzied Spaniards and frenzied Lutherans together, permitted by the Most Catholic Emperor, religion did lose its power. While it survived as a pretext for the wars of the nations, an attitude lost since the times of the Greeks and of Lucretius made itself evident. It is the melancholy toleration, sometimes indifferent, sometimes compassionate, of minds that have looked deeper than most into the mystery of things, and found it unfathomable. We perceive it, very differently, in the inscrutable Leonardo, the infinitely sympathetic Shakspeare, the witty Montaigne, with his smiling respect for tradition, and the vexed Erasmus. We find it in the sad honesty of Macchiavelli, admitting that never was earthly state ruled by Christian ethic. This imaginative agnosticism, which characterises many of the greatest of our race, which is not hostile to religion nor to the radiant energy of creation, whether it was recovered or discovered, is an amelioration of the discords of the race, and a serene power making for true progress.

MR. DAWSON's account of the Reformation is very temperate, and his analysis of this conflict of religious opinion, in which he sees a consequence of the jealousy of the Nordic nations against the Latin culture, offers keen stimulus to speculation. But if the Reformers injured art and humanism, the Church was not guiltless of permitting insincerity in art with the sugared Baroque style so affected by the Jesuits, who knew by insight what Luther knew by experience, the tastes of the average man. The Age of Reason, as presented by Mr. Dawson, is slightly a "school" conception; as a study in repressed complexes that period should appeal to the psychologists. Even the nineteenth century had its spiritual side; but poets and painters are not allowed to bear testimony, it seems.

V.

I HAVE merely been suggesting, rather disjointedly, that readers of Mr. Dawson should remember that he simplifies his history. The religious idea and the idea of Progress never rose and fell quite so clearly as it appears; they interlocked with many forces. I find some difficulty also with some of his words. Why is "Nature" a beneficent power when Saint Francis sings his Canticle to the Sun, and dangerous as Shiva when Professor Huxley perceives soul emergent from biological processes? It is confusing to find the word "Progress" contemptible and material in its meaning sometimes, then restored to authority in the last chapter. In a very wide sense it may be true that every lively and noble gesture is "religious," every other "secular"; but when "religious" becomes the equivalent of Christianity, we are often perplexed. And what is the connotation of Christianity? Is it the Christianity of the Gospels, or of the Catholic Church, hung with gorgeous spoils from Heathenese, with old Egyptian dirges mingling with its Easter litanies, weary and splendid with the beauty of the ages, guilty and marvellous as humanity itself, yet reserving inviolate in its crystal heart the Bread of Angels and the perfect ritual of compassion?

VI.

BUT what of the conclusion? Our need for some solution of our present distress is overwhelming. We are aware of existing in some black crisis of history that seems almost likely to become a break in its continuity, if that were possible. We are crushed by the fetters of our own ingenuity; we have created conditions we can no longer endure, as our outraged nerves and shattered codes of courtesy reveal. The grim legacy of the Industrial Age seems to have acquired some organic power of reproduction. How wise was that instinctive reaction of the Luddites, we think, as we move in a Robot nightmare. In our cities, caged by bars and wires and rails, we see visions of pulleys and weights like Piranesi's halls of torture, while our ears are deafened by metallic thunders. The values of touch, hearing, sight, smell are so smitten into insensibility that all the arts must shriek and writhe to attract attention, and the very flowers become loud in brilliance because they can seduce no more by dewy fragrance. It seems as if at last, in some blind convulsion of agonised sabotage, humanity will end this order of things by rising up to shatter its self-woven net of iron and steel, and recover at last the holiness of its hands and the intelligence of its senses.

THE phenomena of our present exhausted condition existed before the War. The War, which, after all was one of the very few in which many men fought for ideas, which held, in the obscurity of its causes, something of the old Nordic desire to subdue the Latin civilisation,

only farther exhausted an already exhausted order of things. There was indeed a moment when "Everybody suddenly burst out singing," and some young men began to dream dreams. But the real crime of the old men was, not that they deliberately sent the young to war, but that they had prepared no vision for the return of the remnant of these bright broken hosts. Then, appalled by terrific economic difficulties, we fell into an immense bewilderment, which still continues.

WE are becoming decivilised to an alarming degree. The very language is degenerating on our lips. Industries are perishing ; the old organisation of the capitalists is collapsing. The Unemployed bands play their grim dirges under a darkling winter sky, while the futile shop-gazers stand indifferent to the London nightmare. Geneva is teaching us that the cant of war is not more hollow than the cant of peace. Economists prove that things should be better, or will be worse. Eager spinster ladies tirelessly instruct their elders in birth-control and sterilisation. For the women, once the extreme idolators, are abandoning religion. They who blindly served divinity because it was the principle of Life, no more the mourners of Adonis or the Spicebearers by the Sepulchre, bear witness that nativity is not sweet enough to be sacrificially served.

SOON we shall draw no more energy from ancient wells, for we shall have destroyed them. Restore our primitive contacts ? Violated Earth will refuse her Antæus. Given unlimited power over machinery, even the valley section can be undone, and the vital pulses of Place, Work, and Folk be stilled. A vague well-meaning internationalism is sapping the strong Realities of the world. Wheels on wheels destroy the genius of Place, undo the organic connexion of work with earth and sea, and annul the oral tradition of the folk lest it breed the vice of patriotism. In a world of disintegration and despair we stand without hope, ethic, or vision, our only salvage a bitter glistening mirth, such as the haughty find in desperate crises, a gnawing social conscience, and a considerable courage. All the builded beauty of Earth is dissolving around us, and the wisest do but echo the sad music of Prospero. Only the scientists wear a confident look ; but they have become incomprehensible to the laity. And when augurs commune in a secret speech, why should we trust them ? At least we know now they are not infallible.

VII.

WELL ! One should see things at their worst occasionally. To this plight, Mr. Dawson says : " Europe either abandons with Christianity her faith in progress and humanity, or returns to the religious ground of her culture." The immediate reaction to this statement might be

defiant, in some natures insufficiently philosophic. For our faith in humanity is stronger than our faith in Christianity, which, after all, could not have come to pass without the Son of Man: we cannot entirely lose our European culture whatever may happen, since it is part of our blood and nerves even if our brains forget it. A return to the Hellenic ideals might suit us better: even in the Middle Ages some stained-glass refraction of Hellas helped to keep the mind of Europe clear and sound. And, if Christianity still has this dynamic force imputed to it why does it not sweep our tired souls back with one irresistible wave. Mr. Dawson demands a "conscious" return; to be over-conscious with religion means insincerity.

STILL, after the immediate annoyance of the unfairly stated alternative has passed, we agree that much may be said for a return to religion. Every kind of religion is on the side of life; even when it seems to make a cult of death, it is of death in its poignant relation to life. Perhaps the most alarming symptom of our times is the fact that all the social remedies offered us should be negative or life-refusing. Birth-control, sterilisation, Prohibitions of all kinds, may be good or bad in themselves: none of them are vitalising. Something affirmative should console us, something sounding with clear litanies of Nativity and Easter.

WE might return, then, not to the Christianity of Christ, obviously, since that sweet communism, that heavenly anarchy, refuses all traffic with worldly society, and bids us forsake all to follow the destined Figure by the way of flowering thorn to the Cross. A few mystics in every age will obey that call. But it is the magnificent historic Christianity of the Vatican, we feel, that our historian naturally contemplates, since it is the only form of religion regaining some of its spent force in the world to-day. For it gives what Mr. Dawson, in his conscientious appeal to the Reason, does not mention, the experience of ecstasy, life in its rarefied intensity, *élan vital* so swift that it seems almost to slay. Not because this Christianity, having introduced a new kind of life with new possibilities, promises spiritual Progress, but because it offers what is essential to a religion, the sense of the Eternal, the Changeless, the Timeless, the one Absolute in a universe of flux, does it still compel us to reverence. In ecstatic communion with divinity, mysteriously suffering and tender, we escape from Time, and know re-creation. A religion is not primarily an ethic or a metaphysic; but it can restore our souls to deal highly with these.

THE historic appeal it makes we never can deny. Within its pierced and coloured ark it carries the superb, cruel, tender, and magnanimous burden of European civilisation since the birth of Christ, and much of older civilisations besides. For the reconciling genius of the Catholic church can harmonise the gifts of the Shepherds, the caskets

of the Magi, the wings of the Angels. And through all its complex harmonies we hear the clear call of the most beautiful of all the gods who died to live again. For that fair historic figure, attracting to himself all that was gracious in other rituals, did in the end make pure, ethereal, and poignant the old nature-worship. The beauty and sorrow of Paganism, the immemorial incense of Syria and Egypt were closed in the jars of spices that the Maries brought in the spring morning to the Tomb. When at midwinter the world stands still and the air is charged with Nativity, when the soaring chant of the New Fire rises on the morning of Holy Saturday, we feel that the passion of Christ is one with the Passion of the Earth, and that the Cross is indeed the Tree of Life.¹

VIII.

THOUGH Religion is not social in its first intention, it does perform a social service. A religion begins with the mystic, solitary, with his God ; and at its highest still expresses itself in the mystic, lonely in his triumphs, leaving behind some burning words to consume and purify.

"Lonely unto the lone I go,
Divine to the divinity."

BUT the mystic is the individual genius in religion, and becomes either saint or heretic. The more secular or less daring spirit finds rest in religion, rest from that Eternal war of the Categorical Imperative against all the social restrictions. Religion, with the exquisite tact of its ritual, satisfies the individual need to transcend or oppose society, by lifting him into Timeless and supernatural experience. Not indifferent to the cry of the separate human heart, placating him *within* the community, it keeps him one with society, since the same service is ready for all. The danger is that spirits be too much placated, for the wild bright eagle of intellectual freedom cannot hover near the wings of the Dove.

IX.

SINCE religion gives so much, since frankly and beautifully it satisfies that thirst for ecstasy which too many seek, these days, to gratify by pitiful occult stratagems, why not accept it ? The first answer is that most of us could not if we would. The heavy pressure of inherited knowledge and experience has more or less reduced us to a state of split personality. To this psychological dualism we are adapting ourselves, and in course of time may be harmonised, probably by working out a new form of religion altogether. This may be even now

¹Mr. Dawson does not share this view.

beginning : it is our misfortune to have come either too late or too soon. Meanwhile the gifts of the old religion cannot be received by a divided heart.

MR. DAWSON remains on the intellectual plane, and seems even to argue the unarguable when he comes to the process of acceptance. Faith he regards as "the promise of the future." The possible "spiritual society," it appears, will depend on "the free adhesion of the individual mind." Can religion in this imperfect world exist without clericalism? But we are supposed to return now, when religion does require, say, a complete belief in the Mystery of the Incarnation as a historic fact. Some who think by processes of imaginative logic and live by imaginative truth, easily reach a point where a myth or symbol is so charged with beauty and life that it passes fierily into Reality, and the "act of faith" is accomplished. But to another order of intelligences, keen, austere, distrustful of the emotions, the intelligences whose co-ordination with religion is here specially desired, an "act of faith" would be as shocking as the gesture of Origen.

X.

BUT if we could all of us with perfect intellectual honesty return to historic religion, would the disintegration of our society be healed? With all its enchantment, all its symbolic truth, religion offers only an alleviation of our distress, no solution. It has never covered the whole of man's existence since the days of theocracies, and less than ever can it cope with the increasing complexity of his difficulties. There are hard new truths it cannot cover, bitter new experiences it cannot console. But it is so invested with imperishable beauty that its vibrations of splendour and energy do strengthen humanity in its transitional travail.

LET us frankly admit that as yet we have found no solution for the spiritual and material conditions of our disastrous period, and can only guess whither we are passing. What we need, to begin with, is complete sincerity, and a closer relation of words to deeds. We belong to a generation of seekers, and are not even of those who will smell the new dawn. But we are not really afraid. There is an exaltation in the darkness, after all. Some of us suddenly touch God in desperate moments and are convinced that the divine principle triumphs and suffers with us. "Unless men believe that they have an all-powerful ally outside time they will inevitably abandon the ideal of a super-natural or anti-natural moral progress." So Mr. Dawson. We have certainly got beyond that, when we can feel that we are the allies of God. And some there are who, unable to perceive divinity in the ruthless ordering of the Universe, live nobly and finely because a

noble life is an ideal in itself, and because they have a chivalrous bond with their kind. The weaklings whose behaviour depends on the bribes of an ally outside time, will never lack captains to tell them with trumpets that the forlorn hope is the place of honour, nor mystics who will endure to the end even when God has forsaken them.

It is idle to speculate farther on the new ethic and the shape of the new religion. In this crisis, besieged by spiritual conflicts as we are, it seems as if the terrific material problems must be grappled first. Presently youth will wake up and find the need of action most urgent. The young will not dally over abstract words. Dualism will not paralyse them, nor the Cyclic Return appal. Why should it? If the cycle be the ring of a spiral, some point of time in the round must leap higher in the light than ever before, even if the downward dip be very depressed indeed. The spiral may rise uncertainly, smokelike, beset by forces we do not yet understand. Yet it rises.² Humanity has accomplished miracles, and has sunk in its dark ages before. What if European civilisation vanished to-morrow? It is to us an intolerable notion, though vanish it must, like the planet, we are led to suppose. Meanwhile, from a lover's look and a child's laugh, civilisation would begin again. Sociology and Psychology might help us towards a new religion; but not so long as they are so anxious about being sciences. They need vivid contacts with things that will not be described in abstract words nor classified on paper. They should, in fact, become arts even more than sciences, since their ultimate interest is presumably the infinitely diverse, elusive and palpitating human soul.

It is perhaps wrong to have taken Mr. Dawson on one point. Yet it seems the point of the book. After all, his Conclusion is tentative and cautious. *PROGRESS AND RELIGION* is, as I have said, a living book, provocative, endlessly suggestive, and brilliant with scholarship.

RACHEL ANNAND TAYLOR.

²This image of hope I got from Professor Geddes long ago, to whom I honestly return it.

SURVEYS AND COMMUNITY LIFE : Notes of an Address
given during the Annual Conference of Leplay House, November,
1929 : by Alexander Farquharson, M.A.

SINCE Leplay House was opened in 1920 I have many many times been asked to give a reason for our faith in Surveys. Why all this effort spent in the study of local communities—much of it in holiday periods when we might better be enjoying life at a popular holiday resort ? In spite of all that has been said and written about Surveys, many of our friends (and all our enemies) do not yet see the point.

THIS Conference—the most useful we have had, and itself conclusive evidence of the growth of our movement—provides another reason for attempting an answer to the same question. There must be *something* behind a movement. We ought to be able now to look back—take stock—and plan for the future.

ONE of our distinguishing marks has always been the practical tendency of our Surveys. We want to *know* in order to *do*. We are at the pole opposite to that of the “dry-as-dust” students. Thirty years ago Geddes talked of “Surveys for Service” ; and that has always been the dominating idea of our movement. Now this idea of *service* is much more widely advertised now than it was in the 19th century. At our Friday evening’s discussion Mr. Waldegrave mentioned the present day idea of big business as service. Rotary Clubs have the service idea. Social service of all kinds has become, particularly since the War, a leisure hour pursuit of vast numbers of our fellows.

BUT this “service” business so far is often little more than verbal. The word is felt to have virtue ; those who utter it are often content to do fragments of social service in their spare time, while largely maintaining the older individualistic attitude in their daily bread-and-butter occupations. If we probe at all into the methods by which business and industry are still run, we find very much the same features as have been criticised by all the reformers of the 19th century. True, there is better treatment of workers, a higher level of wages, and so on. But there is still an untold amount of rivalry, deceit, petty fraud and dishonesty within (and sometimes without) the limits laid down by law. Apart from these there is everywhere prevalent a small-mindedness, lack of vision, and neglect of intelligence, which unite to oppose their deadweight to any conscientious application of the “service” idea.

ALL this seems a little remote when said at such a Conference as this ; for one of the difficulties of the situation is that we intellectual people all tend to live in groups of a more or less cloistered kind ; men working in Universities—women in Colleges and Schools—social workers moving among people whose sympathies and ideals are humane. Thus it is not easy for us even to realise our problem ; i.e., to realise the

existence of this mass of uncivilised tendencies and ideas which still dominates the larger and most practical part of our community life. It is for the most part only through the novel and the drama that we find opportunities of realising the narrow outlook, the intensely suspicious and self-centred attitude, of the small business man ; and perhaps only through conversations heard by chance in railway carriages or inns that the attitude of labourer or farmer to scientific and " progressive " ideas is brought home to us.

THE first argument for the Survey therefore is that survey work in this country and on the social and economic aspects of community life is a step towards informing ourselves of the state of mind and attitude towards the community of the mass of our fellow citizens. Note what has been said at the Conference by Miss Jennings and Mr. Owen about their surveys at Brynmawr and Sheffield.* It is clear that work of this type gives a knowledge that could not possibly be had by purely academic methods. Naturalists in the audience may feel that I am stressing unduly the social and economic side of Surveys. But here I am guided by experience : I find that only when I get down to enquiries about things that really matter to business men, industrialists, and financiers do I get an effective reaction from them. Not once but nearly always do I discover the business man who at mention of Surveys is ready to pour out any amount of (mainly inaccurate) archæological and historical information about his town, but shuts up like an oyster when I ask him about the details of his own business—the thing he really cares about and I therefore want to know about. I am not forgetting the naturalist and rural side of Surveys ; and if the naturalists will have patience I shall come to that later on.

THE second and more important argument for the Survey is that, if we know how to go about conducting a social and economic survey and collecting (with the utmost diplomacy !) information from the business men and industrialists of to-day, we are using far and away the best method of educating these ; educating them not merely in the meaning of surveys and survey methods, but in the idea of a common life, a general or public interest, and the shaping of economic activities in service of that. It would be dangerous to speak too enthusiastically about the possibilities here ; but my experience leaves me no doubts. If you can once get by means of survey a body of accurate information on a locality—if only in respect of one particular industry or trade—and can get the main results, and any conclusions to be drawn from them, before the local business men, you can invariably witness the dawn and growth of the idea of a common interest, which at least in time may develop into a full grown ideal of

*Accounts of these Surveys will be published in the next number of the *Review*, along with notes of a Southampton Survey by Mr. P. Ford (University College, Southampton). [Ed. Soc. Rev.]

community service. If in the course of one of my own jobs I can only get the pharmacists, milkmen or drapers—or the butchers and bakers and candlestick makers—of a town to provide me with information on the main features of their several businesses, and then bring them together to consider a generalised statement of the assembled results, in relation to the life of town as a whole, there will be at least glimmerings of an understanding that these occupations are services rendered by the whole body of those engaged in them to the community at large.

WHAT has been said might be considered in itself sufficient as an argument for Surveys of a civic and regional type in this country. It leads me, however, to carry the argument to a third point or stage : i.e., that the Survey idea, and the Survey method of going to work, and the type of result produced by civic and regional Surveys in the social and economic sphere provide the only method of conversion that we can employ successfully when dealing with the practical man.

LET us consider this carefully for a moment. What we are up against in the minds of the industrialists and the business men of to-day (whether large-scale or small-scale) is the dying echo of the famous Adam Smith and Manchester School economic doctrines. We find these actually expressed in conversation in such phrases as that trade has a "natural channel" which it ought to be allowed to take, that "competition is the life-blood of trade," that "the State should not interfere with trade," and so on. These doctrines have each year less and less relation to the realities of economic life to-day ; but they linger in the thought and speech of many middle-class men and prevent the entrance of other ideas. Apart from that they have the great advantage over the doctrines of the competing economic and social projects (e.g., complete state control, or guild socialism) that they have been within living memory theories that accorded with practice.

I HOPE I can assume as a matter of general agreement here that the economics of the 19th century do not give us a working basis for the future. Perhaps, however, an indication of the way we must go about introducing a new economic scheme and procedure is given by the history of this same 19th century economic theory. I believe it is a fact that Adam Smith summarised in his classical contribution the body of ideas that was already actively at work in practical form in the economic life and organisation of his time. He *recorded* something that was emerging into its final shape, after a long series of economic urges, struggles, experiments, and failures that began in the later Middle Ages. Whether this be so or not it seems to me possible that our business is to insinuate the Survey idea and the Survey method into the present economic situation, not worrying about the echoes of the individualist theory, but believing that under

the camouflage provided by these a new structure based upon the idea of community service will arise.

DOES this seem to put forward too high a claim for Survey method—the only thing in the field, the only thing to which we can pin our faith? Its only serious rival to-day—a rival that has the same *practical* bent—is the new scheme or idea of rationalisation in industry, with its programme of national and international surveys of particular industries, and reorganisation of these into unified or co-operating groups, which shall work together for greatest economy in production and distribution, most efficient forms of management, and so on. There is no time now for a close examination of rationalisation; and there are obviously many things in common between the movement for rationalisation and the Survey movement; both rely on a scientific and comprehensive view of a situation, both assume justifiably that the first result of such a view will be to suggest changes worth making with economy and efficiency as object. To put a personal argument, however, I must confess to being somewhat uneasy when I hear Lord Melchett's undertakings, on the Margarine Union, cited as outstanding examples of what rationalisation should aim at and be. I hope that we can guide the Survey movement in a different direction, content for the moment to secure co-operation within the limits of a local unit and above all maintaining the view that such co-operation should arise without compulsion as a result of Survey activities.

WHAT has been said so far seems to lay sole emphasis on surveys of the economic aspects of life. I have chosen to do this for two reasons: (1) This is the side of local surveys which has so far had least attention, and is least developed. (2) I am convinced that no Survey of *social* problems and services, however useful, will by itself convince the business men and industrialists that their bread-and-butter activities also require the application of the Survey method.

THIS does not mean, of course, that there is not infinite opportunity and need for surveys of a social type. All the accumulated experience of recent years at Leplay House, and of social surveys conducted by other organisations, leads to the conclusion that such surveys not only can be a means of initiating valuable new social activities, but have become the essential method of attacking local social problems.

I MUST pass to a wider field. So far I have been dealing with the Survey idea, the value of surveys, the future of surveys, and to some extent with what we ought to do about them, from a limited point of view; that of this country, with its almost complete urbanisation of society, with its pressing economic problems. I cannot put it too strongly that the wide recognition of the Survey idea and movement and of its immediate practical value does depend on our giving full attention to this point of view. Our movement has suffered in the

past from the widespread idea that we were exclusively or almost exclusively concerned with Regional Surveys of a rural type ; surveys that were unintelligible to urbanised people. But wide recognition and immediate practical value are not the whole story. I am led to make a point that has gradually become clear in my own mind, and that is, I think, vital for the future of the Survey movement :—We must recognise the existence of an exoteric survey doctrine, and also of an esoteric survey doctrine.

ALL I have said above is merely a fragment of the exoteric survey doctrine. It accepts business men and institutions, professional men, social workers and social welfare institutions very much as they are. It says, in effect, " Let us sit down together just as friendly men and women ; let us think out and work out a clear view of some particular activity of our locality, or of all its activities taken together ; and then we shall see whether, as intelligent and sensible men and women, we can find some way of doing rather better than we are doing now." In spirit such a doctrine has kinship with the ideas that animate the Rotary movement, the Y.M.C.A., a good social club, a workmen's Co-operative Society, a Friendly Society.

I HAVE the deepest conviction that while this doctrine, and the attitude consistent with it, are practical and necessary, they are also possibly—indeed almost inevitably—superficial. And if that is so, I can conceive no more dreadful fate for our or any other people than to have the Survey idea perfectly applied and organised in every department of their lives to this exoteric extent only. As soon as you begin to think out the kind of community that would result you feel the deepest doubts. A general cheerfulness and friendliness, no particular privacy in economic and social affairs, and probably great stability with slow and carefully-guided changes only ; so that we are all good fellows, and no doubt have plenty to eat and drink, with the chief amenities of life in some form quite handy, and much less care, depression, worry, and bad temper than at least some of us experience to-day. While this would in some ways be very much better than anything we know, it would be dull ; with an art perhaps at the level of Co-operative Society window dressing and poetry not unlike that of Miss Wilhelmina Stitch. If that were so there would inevitably come the fate that every established social order is always risking ; i.e., a break-up, because the community did not and could not find room for the deepest urges of human nature.

It is here, therefore, that the esoteric survey doctrine comes in. I cannot hope to explain it now : students should read Mr. Branford's writings—though he does not use the term esoteric. This doctrine in brief asserts that the rural survey is equal in importance with the urban survey ; indeed, it is of more fundamental importance,

because the deepest urges in man are more akin to the life of nature than to the artificial unreal conditions of our modern towns and cities.

THIS is, in fact, the final argument for much of our work at Leplay House. For even in our surveys in this country we are continually associating the rural life of the surrounding region (including all its natural conditions) with the urban life of the centre or capital of the region. Some of our best and most faithful workers have specialised on rural surveys, with little or no attention to associated urban centres ; some indeed have specialised upon such natural features as rock structure and vegetation. It is easy to advance the idea (as part of our exoteric doctrine) that these natural and rural conditions influence radically even to-day the economic and social life of urban centres. This argument is sound, and worth using in discussions with the common man : but it does not cover all the cases, e.g., the Leplay House studies abroad, so largely devoted to natural and rural conditions.

I HAVE time only to add a few sentences that may throw further light upon this final argument. We need our naturalist surveys for our own education as survey workers, and this applies *more particularly* to survey workers in urban conditions in this country. I am conscious that the doctrine I am trying to put has the difficulty of all esoteric doctrines ; i.e., that you must put the doctrine in practice before you can begin to understand it. A kind of faith is necessary, followed by works that will in time build up a new attitude that justifies the faith. I must therefore be dogmatic and assert that intimate sympathetic contact with nature in wild or rustic forms is essential to a life that is truly human. Only when you have experienced this contact can you know either its meaning or its value. Baptism, truly understood, is perhaps a symbol of such experience ; the immersion symbolising the subjection of oneself to an enfolding influence that, given time, will penetrate and suffuse and alter the whole being. Contact with nature is just like that. For most of us, too, it is as the Kingdom of Heaven ; it cannot be taken by force ; the contact, the penetration, must take place while our superficial minds are hypnotised by some immediate object. It is thus, is it not, that the shepherd and the fisherman establish their links with nature ; and for us the geological, vegetation and climate studies that form part of a survey have perhaps their greatest value in hypnotising our attention, drawing us on, compelling us into the field, day after day, year after year, so that we and Nature have opportunities of getting well acquainted.

IF I ever were asked to establish a test for disciples in the survey movement, I should make each one repeat to me the sentence : " O Nature take me." I should know by intonation, glance, gesture as these words were said whether the disciple was for life only a " torch bearer " or was to be one of the few " mystics."

CORSICA : by C. B. Fawcett.

"LA CORSE est une île de la mer Méditerranée." So runs the opening sentence of a local text book. It omits a third fact of equal importance. Corsica is a mountain massif of ancient rocks. And a study of its human geography is a study of the interaction of these three main factors in the environment on the life of its peoples.

CORSICA then is mountainous ; it is Mediterranean ; and it is insular.

THE main mass of the island is a small and compact area a little less than 100 miles from N.-S., and barely 50 miles in its extreme width from E.-W. This area is extended northward for a further 20 miles by the peninsula of Cap Corse which is physically a miniature of the main mass but differs somewhat in its human relations because its small size (no part of it is more than five miles from the sea) and its greater nearness to the continent have allowed overseas influences to dominate it more fully. The small size¹ and mountainous character of the island have kept its population small and have prevented it from being at any time a strong power ; while its location has exposed its shores to invasion by all the peoples who have sailed the Western Mediterranean. Within historic time it has been subject to Rome, to the medieval Italian republics of Pisa and Genoa, and since 1769 to France except for a brief interlude of British control during the Wars of the French Revolution. But of these only France has made her rule effective over the whole of the interior. There the plateau basins and high-lying valleys owe their remoteness far more to the mountain than to the sea ; and in the interior, at constant war with the foreigners who landed on the coasts as pirates or would-be conquerors and in almost incessant internecine feuds, the Corsican people have evolved their distinctive character and national consciousness.

THE chief internal division in Corsica is marked by the high range across the island from N.E. to S.W. which forms the main water parting, and in which not less than twenty summits exceed 2,000 metres (ca. 6,600 feet) in altitude—a height not reached elsewhere. The distinction between the N.E. and S.W. slopes of the island thus established by the position of the chief mountains is strongly reinforced by the character of the rocks which compose the two slopes and by their respective orientations. The S.W. is a granitic plateau sloping from a high N.E. edge, which forms the mountain range, towards the coast ; close to the sea its altitude is still in general more than 300 m. (1,000 feet) and there are summits within 2 miles of the sea which reach twice that altitude. The plateau falls to the sea in steep cliffs, broken

¹ Area : 8,722 sq. km. (3,367 sq. mls.). Population 288,826 (in 1921). Density 32 per sq. km. (c. 80 per sq. ml.)

by the narrow valleys and gorges of numerous torrents and by the wider valleys of a few rivers. In general, access from the coast to the interior is difficult. Similar obstacles hinder land routes along the coast, e.g., the road from Ajaccio to Porto climbs over separate cols of 300, 400 and 500 metres in altitude respectively. This granitic plateau is fully exposed to the S.W. and W. winds and hence receives a fairly high rainfall. It slopes evenly S.W.-ward and is drained in that direction by long parallel streams. The upper parts of the valleys of these streams are often wider and more open than the lower and so favour the expansion of settlements at some distance in from the coast. The soils of the granite areas are usually poor and thin;² they are exposed to the very vigorous denudation and rain-wash and poorly protected by the somewhat open vegetation which is adapted to survive the long dry spells of the Mediterranean summer. Hence this S.W. slope of the island is on the whole a region of thin and poor soil and steep rocky slopes unfavourable to agriculture or to any dense vegetation. Also it turns its back towards the continent and faces the widest part of the Western Mediterranean. Before the Napoleonic period, in which Ajaccio became the capital of Corsica, the S.W. was by far the more remote region; and in spite of its possession of the capital and the maintenance of a regular direct service from Ajaccio to Marseille the S.W. is still less directly influenced from Europe than is the N.E.

THE N.E. part of Corsica is composed of schistose rocks which are generally less resistant than the granites of the S.W.; its rocks are also more varied in composition and their decomposition forms a less infertile soil. Also its general altitude is less. It is in the lee of the mountains with respect to the prevalent rain-bearing winds, and the upper basins under the lee of the highest mountains are in so marked a rain-shadow as to approach semi-arid conditions. Beyond these basins, of which the Niolo and the Basin of Corte are the most noteworthy, the land is naturally divided into the highlands districts of Châtaigneraie to the East and Balagne to the North of the basins, with the relatively low lying Nebbio between them, and the Cap Corse peninsula. On these the rainfall is sufficient to maintain abundant tree growth; and they are the most fertile and populous districts of the island.

BESIDES these two main types of rock there are two others of very much less extent. There are some small areas of jurassic limestone most prominent about Bonifacio in the extreme south and inland from St. Florent in the north. This is porous and gives a dry though fairly fertile soil, relatively inhospitable to the plants of the maquis which dominate the rest of the lower slopes. The soft, horizontally stratified,

² The students' party estimated the maximum thickness of these soils in the Evisa district at from 9 to 12 inches.

limestones give to the wind-swept area about Bonifacio a very distinctive character and make it a picturesque contrast to the granitic areas; but they are not sufficiently extensive to affect the island as a whole. The remaining physical formation is that of fairly recent marine and alluvial deposits which form the lowland of the East coast plain and small deltaic patches at the mouths of most of the rivers. In these areas the soils vary from stiff clays to light sands, and they include the most fertile parts of Corsica, though they are for the most part uncultivated and are used chiefly for winter pasture. The surface features of the island are those of a youthful topography and all the considerable streams flow in deep and narrow valleys and are of no use for communications. Very few of the villages are on the banks of any considerable stream, and where the railways and main roads follow the valleys the passage of the gorges has made great demands on the skill of their engineers. The value of the streams as sources of power is lessened by their small volume in late summer and autumn; but there is some beginning of hydro-electric development on the larger rivers.

THE Mediterranean character of Corsica is very strongly marked in its vegetation. The dominant association is that of the *maquis*, which occupies a little more than half of the total surface. This is formed by shrubs from 3 or 4 up to 10 or 12 feet in height, among which the myrtle, *ilex*, tree heath, *lentis* and *cistus* are the most prominent. In some places these form dense thickets; but for the most part the *maquis* is so open that the vegetation hardly obstructs movement about it. The undergrowth, in which aromatic plants are prominent, is also scanty. The *maquis* is essentially an "open association" and much of the ground is bare. It affords a poor pasture for goats, donkeys and mules, and the larger stems of its shrubs are a principal material for the charcoal burner. This is almost all its direct contribution to the welfare of the island. But on these rugged slopes the *maquis* offers an abundance of hiding places, and the persistence of the Corsican bandit to the present day is partly dependent on the extent and character of the *maquis*, and a climate in which it is possible to live out all through the year.

THE *maquis* is the dominant plant association from sea level up to 450 or 600 metres above the sea. At these altitudes the better rainfall and the winter frost and snows cause a transition to the forest zone whose trees are of central European type, including pine, beech and oak, as well as the chestnut. The timber of these forests, particularly the pine, has been an important factor in the history of Corsica because of its value to the naval powers of the Mediterranean, where such wood is not abundant. Forests occupy a fifth of the area of the island and form one of its important resources, which is apparently capable of further development.

THE most important cultivated plants of Corsica are trees, a condition favoured both by the climate and the ruggedness of so much of the island, where level surfaces are few and small in extent. At the lower altitudes the tree-culture is devoted to such distinctively Mediterranean plants as the vine, olive, fig, orange, lemon, apricot and other soft fruits and almond, among which the two first named are by far the most prominent. The cultivation of the olive has diminished somewhat in recent decades, partly owing to the replacement of olive oil by mineral oils for some purposes, and many olive groves are neglected.

At altitudes above 300 metres the chestnut is by far the principal cultivated plant; it produces the chief food and fodder crops of the island and a substantial part of the export goods. The chief value is in the fruit, but the bark is also used for the extraction of acid for tanning and the timber is next in importance to that of the pine.

ONE of the greatest difficulties of the cultivator here is the downward creep of the soil on the steep slopes. This tendency is countered by the building of terrace walls of the superabundant stone; and the work of ages has resulted in the development of innumerable terraces on the gentler slopes all over the island. These terraces are generally arranged without any apparent plan, they may be said to have grown as the cultivator built a retaining wall to prevent the soil from slipping away from the roots of a valued tree or from a patch of cultivated ground. Most of the terraces are so small that it is impossible to use animal labour on them, and on them the cultivation of vegetables and patches of cereals is necessarily a spade culture. Only on the slopes which are so nearly level that terracing is unnecessary can the plough be used and the island has few large work animals; its chief transport animals are donkeys and mules in rural areas, but heavy transport work is being taken over by motor lorries. This laborious terrace cultivation is much more costly in human labour than the cultivation of open plains with the aid of animal or mechanical power; hence it cannot compete in the production of cereals, and it finds itself badly handicapped wherever its products come into competition with those of such open lands. The modern extensions of transport make this competition increasingly severe; the motor bus and lorry now reach almost every commune in Corsica, and imported food stuffs are easily distributed. One result is to stimulate migration from these regions of difficulty towards lands which are more attractive in that they offer greater opportunities for the attainment of comfort or wealth.

STILL a further result of the location of Corsica is seen in its peoples. The island has been visited by all the peoples who have wandered over the Mediterranean, and many of them have left traces in its population and culture. Well-known remnants of such visitors are still traceable in the Nordic racial traits found in Niolo, and less frequently elsewhere,

and in the still partly Greek colony of Cargèse with its orthodox church. The attitude of the Corsican to recent intruders is seen vividly in the fact that the peoples of the coastal towns, especially of Bonifacio, isolated at the southern extremity, and of Bastia, long the chief stronghold of the Genoese, are still regarded as foreigners by many of the highlanders.

THOUGH Corsica is an island it is by no means isolated.³ Its mountains are visible from those of Sardinia, Tuscany and the maritime Alps; and all these can be seen from appropriate view points. Except for the comparatively short periods of peace and security on the Mediterranean coasts during the supremacy of Rome, and since France in 1830 destroyed the Barbary corsairs, the island has been exposed to raids and invasions throughout its history. In the disturbed centuries after the fall of Rome the coastal settlements were destroyed and the inhabitants became adjusted to life on the highland, so that in medieval and modern times the Corsicans are distinctly a non-maritime people. Of the coastal towns only Ile Rousse is of Corsican foundation; it was founded by Paoli late in the 18th century for political reasons, and ranks only seventh in order of population among the sea ports with barely 2,000 inhabitants. The rest have developed from foreign settlements, mainly of Genoese origin. The chief focus of the national life was Corte, as far inland as possible; and at the present day the maritime and commercial life of Corsica is mainly in the hands of foreigners in the coastal towns or from the mainland.

THE position of Corsica has made it of interest to all the naval powers of the Western Mediterranean, while its small size and resources prevented it from developing sufficient strength to maintain its independence against those powers. The longest rule was that of Genoa, which held some parts of the island for more than six centuries before 1769 when it was ceded to France. The island lies off the mouth of the Gulf of Genoa, and any vessels making for that port must pass within sight of its shores, and to secure the routes of the fleets of galleys which maintained their trade with North Africa and with the Levant the Genoese took possession of the Corsican harbours. During a spell of westerly gales the east coast offered a sheltered run for these fleets while the inlets on the western side could provide shelter from easterly storms (the "Levanters"). It was also obvious that a hostile fleet based on Corsican harbours would be in a favourable position for attacking the seaborne trade of Genoa. Thus during her centuries of greatness Genoa made persistent efforts to hold Corsica,

³ This is of course generally true of continental islands. An island location does confer a very marked regional individuality because of the obvious and unavoidable character of the separation from other lands, and it is this distinct individuality which is the characteristic feature of insular peoples.

and most of the bays and anchorages have remains of Genoese fortifications. To hold the coast of so small an island firmly without control of the whole island was impossible, but the Genoese never completed the conquest of the interior and the Corsican wars formed a constant drain on their resources, so that in its decline the republic was persuaded to sell the island to France. To France also it was of value mainly in relation to naval requirements, and its strategic value to France has increased with the extension of the French Empire in North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean. The fact that Napoleon was a Corsican has led to the establishment of many sentimental links between France and Corsica, while since the French Revolution the island has been organised and governed as a Department of France and not as a foreign dependency. French rule has brought peace and security; but it has only begun to modify the conditions of life and the internal distribution of the population largely by the construction of a system of good roads, many of which date from the Third Empire, and by the incidental provision of careers in the French service for many of the islanders.

CORSICA contains no large town. Bastia, the chief seaport and commercial centre has 33,094 people, and Ajaccio, the political capital, has 22,614, while no other town reaches 10,000.⁴ Among the 364 communes in the island there are only ten with populations of more than 2,000 each; these contain 86,000 people, more than a fourth of the total population, and of these the two principal towns contain 55,000. At the other extreme there are 53 communes with less than 200 inhabitants in each, and of these, nine have less than 100 inhabitants.

IN Cap Corse the area of a commune usually coincides with one of the small valleys and contains more than one village or hamlet. Elsewhere it is usual for the great majority of the inhabitants of a commune to dwell in one village or in adjacent hamlets, and isolated houses are rare. Hence it is practicable to regard the population of each commune as concentrated into its village in order to map the distribution. The accompanying map has been compiled on this basis. It indicates clearly the main facts of the distribution of the population; and a comparison between it and a good relief map⁵ will further illustrate some of the outstanding features.

EXCEPT for the seaport towns the coast is almost without permanent inhabitants, a fact which is especially noticeable on the east coast plain. This avoidance of the coast is a result of several factors, among which may be noted:—

⁴ These and subsequent figures of population are from the *RÉSULTATS STATISTIQUES DU RECENSEMENT GÉNÉRAL DE LA POPULATION*. Vol. I. Part I. Published 1928, Paris.

⁵ e.g., in *TIMES ATLAS*, Plate 31, a map of which is on the same scale.

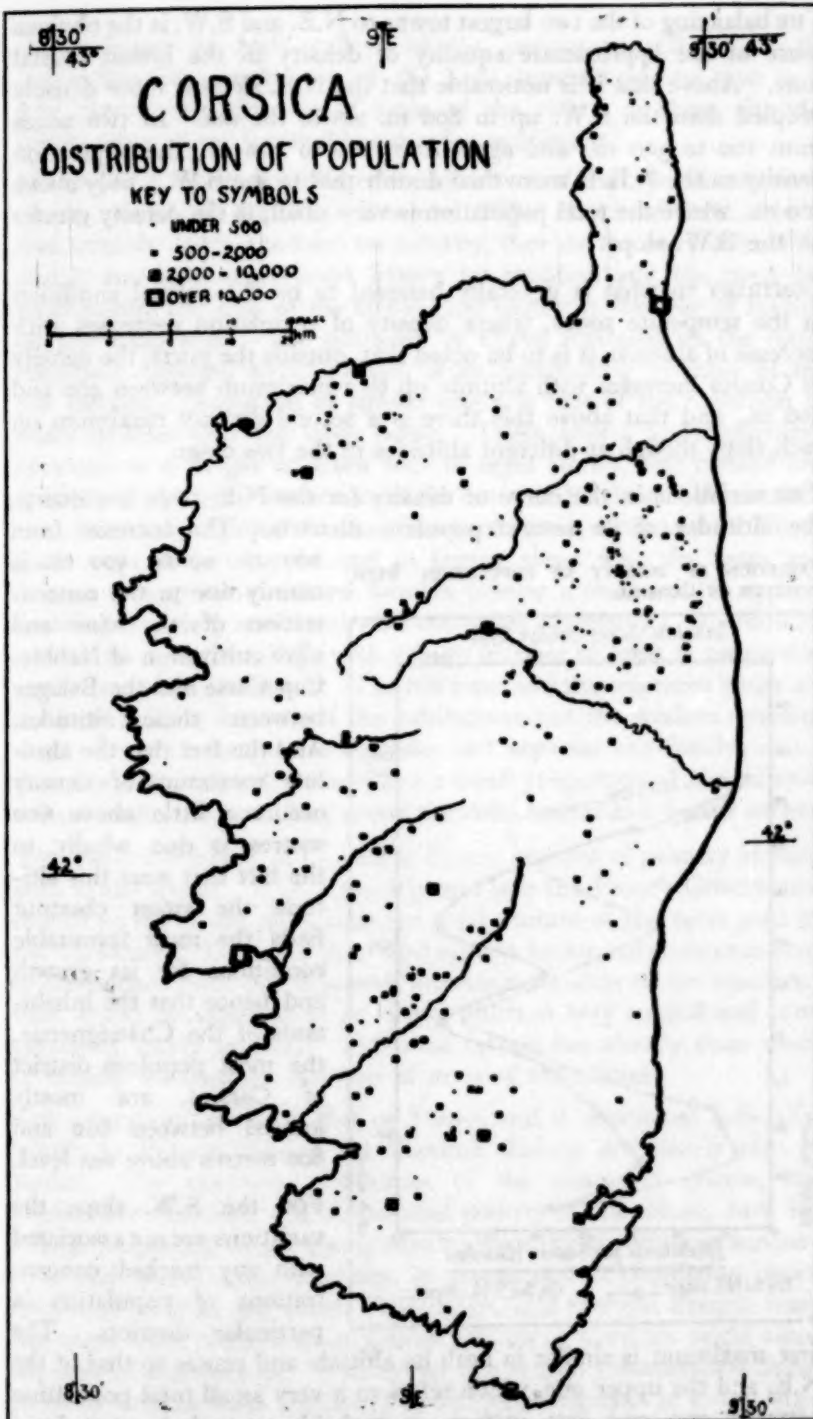
1. THE steepness of much of the coast and the paucity of good harbours. Of the three good natural harbours the best, that of Porto Vecchio, has an almost empty hinterland, and those of Bonifacio and Bastia (the old port) are too small for modern shipping.

2. THE historic insecurity of life near the coast because of its exposure to piratical raids and the warfare between Corsicans and Genoese for several centuries. This factor came into operation with the fall of the Roman Empire, before which the east coast plain was well cultivated and peopled, and its effects have been cumulative. The flight of the inhabitants before raiding parties led to neglect of drainage and irrigation channels. This neglect favoured the silting up of river mouths and the development of marshy areas; while the fear of recurrent invasions hindered the repair or renewal of the works. The marshy areas formed suitable breeding grounds for mosquitoes, and so aided the spread of malaria which in its turn reduced the health and efficiency of the population and drove away many of them to the highland. The process was slow, and as late as the 10th and 11th centuries there was still a considerable population on the plain as is shown by the remains of Pisan churches of that period. Modern attempts to drain the marshy areas and bring the lowland once more under cultivation have had comparatively little success, since there is no adequate source from which the necessary labour can be obtained. Neither Corsicans nor French would favour the introduction of large numbers of Italians as settlers, but without some such immigrants the plain is likely to remain comparatively empty. What cultivation there is on it is mainly carried on by temporary inhabitants who retire to the hills from June to September, though the whole is so near the hill villages that it is now possible for motor buses to bring workers to and from the plain in a summer's day without leaving them there exposed to the night flying mosquitoes.

THE mountain belt which separates the N.E. and S.W. slopes is almost as empty of permanent inhabitants as the coastal lowland for different reasons. It is nowhere so high as to reach the snowline, but its higher parts are covered by snow for several months in each year, and serve only as summer pasture for goats and sheep from the valleys below. This use of the alpine pastures of Corsica is still of some importance, though it is diminishing with the general decrease of the rural population.

THUS after noting that about a quarter of the total population is in the coast towns we see that the remaining threequarters lives mainly on the highland, for the most part at altitudes between 200 and 900 metres above sea level. This is illustrated in the accompanying graph based on calculations by Anfossi * which shows the altitudinal distribution of the population.

* *op. cit.* (see end).



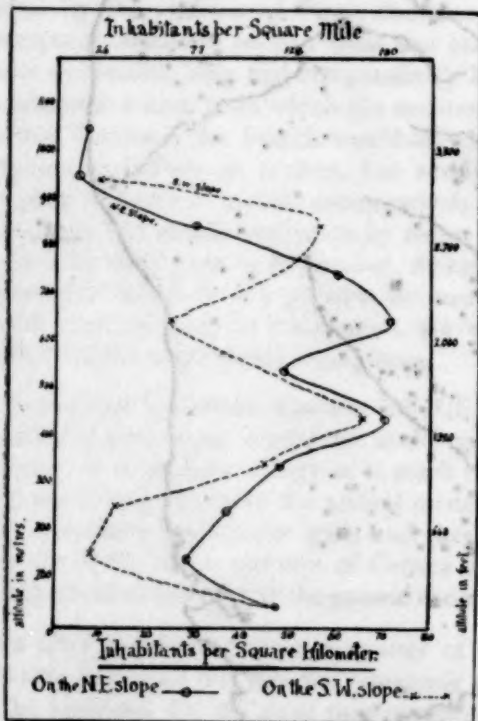
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY COMMUNES.

THE balancing of the two largest towns to N.E. and S.W. is the obvious cause of the approximate equality of density in the lowest coastal zone. Above that it is noticeable that the N.E. slope is more densely peopled than the S.W. up to 800 m. above the sea. In two zones from 100 to 300 m., and again from 600 to 700 m., the population density to the N.E. is more than double that to the S.W.; only above 800 m., where the total population is very small, is the density greater on the S.W. slope.

CONTRARY to what is generally believed to be the normal condition in the temperate zones, where density of population decreases with increase of altitude, it is to be noted that, outside the ports, the density in Corsica increases with altitude up to a maximum between 400 and 500 m., and that above this there is a second distinct maximum on each slope though at different altitudes in the two cases.

THE variations in the curve of density for the N.E. slope are due to the altitudes of its several populous districts. The increase from 200 m. up to 500 m. is mainly due to the concentration of the vine and olive cultivation of Nebbio, Cap Corse and the Balagne between these altitudes.

VARIAION OF DENSITY OF POPULATION WITH ALTITUDE IN CORSICA.



And the fact that the absolute maximum of density occurs a little above 600 metres is due wholly to the fact that near this altitude the sweet chestnut finds the most favourable conditions for its growth and hence that the inhabitants of the Châtaigneraie, the most populous district of Corsica, are mostly located between 600 and 800 metres above sea level.

FOR the S.W. slope the variations are not associated with any marked concentrations of population in particular districts. The

first maximum is similar in both its altitude and causes to that of the N.E. and the upper one, which refers to a very small total population between 700 and 900 metres, is probably caused in part by a

concentration in high valleys of the permanent villages of the pastoralists who make use of the high summer pasture, and is in part due to the widening of some of the valleys at these altitudes which offers there favourable areas for settlement.

MANY of the towns and villages are hill towns of the type characteristic of the shores of the Mediterranean. The choice of these sites is undoubtedly due to the need for security, they are the more defensible, and it has been maintained largely by tradition and the need for economising the soils of the slopes, and partly by the fear of malaria on low lying sites. The old town of Corte, clustered on the rocky eminence crowned by its citadel, is an outstanding example of the hill fortress. A custom of similar origin is that of the collection of many families into one large house. These houses are constructed of stone to a height of from four to eight stories, and remind one strongly of the tenement houses of the towns of Scotland. An extreme case frequently quoted is the house of 300 proprietors in Corte. Each such house may be, and in former times was, the home and fortress of a group of related families (almost a clan) and the type of building is closely associated with the needs of defence. It produced a compact town or village with a large number of men in proportion to the area to be defended. The hill town and the tenement house are the most striking features of the habitations, and the modern development of more scattered settlements and separate one-family houses does not yet provide for more than a small proportion of the inhabitants, though it is spreading round the chief tourist and health resorts.

THE modern relations of Corsica to France are now of primary importance to the island. It is frequently said that the French Government spends in the island more than the total amount of the taxes paid by the Corsicans. There is a good road system, better and more extensive, in comparison with that of several mountainous areas on the continent, than would be expected in an island which is very rugged and comparatively thinly peopled. This road system has already done much to remove the extreme isolation of most of the villages.

THE education system is that of France and is conducted (officially) wholly in French, though the Corsican dialects are closely akin to Italian. The combined influences of the education system, the Napoleonic tradition, and the natural poverty of the island, have led a large proportion of the young men to enter the government service ; it is said that Corsica provides, in proportion to population, more *fonctionnaires* than any other Department, and that the French army has never been without some general officers of Corsican origin since the days of Napoleon I. It is certain that retired *fonctionnaires* living on their pensions form prominent and influential groups in a very large proportion of the towns and villages and do much to link the island more closely to France. From Cap Corse there has been for a few

generations a migration to South America. Many of the successful emigrants return in later life to their native villages, where they are known as *Americans*. The effects on Corsica itself of the fact that a substantial proportion of its men spend their working life in other lands are very difficult to estimate. They bring, in total, a considerable addition to its money income. And they divert the energies of many of the ablest Corsicans to the development and service of other lands to the relative neglect of Corsica itself. It is certainly true of Corsica for the past century, as of many other highland regions, that its chief export is men. This export has not been adequately counterbalanced by the temporary seasonal immigrations of Italian labourers for agricultural work and charcoal burning, an immigration which has diminished considerably in the last decade. The population is decreasing as a whole, particularly in the rural areas, and the landscape shows many evidences, in neglected and abandoned terraces, of the shortage of rural workers.

ONE last feature which should be noted is the recent development of a tourist industry. Corsica possesses all the scenic attractions which come from the close neighbourhood of mountain and sea under the sunny Mediterranean skies. To these it adds the historic interest of the birthplace of Napoleon at Ajaccio, and also that of Christopher Columbus at Calvi, as well as of its own romantic story. Most of its visitors are from France, but its attractions are becoming widely known and it is developing both as a winter health resort, and a tourist area—a development which may increase its prosperity and modify its character.

REFERENCES :

MUCH of the material for this essay was collected by the members of the Leplay House party which visited Corsica in April, 1929. I am particularly indebted to Professor J. Holland Rose's notes on the history and Captain C. D. Chase's notes on the botany.

THERE is a voluminous literature, in French and English, on Corsica scattered through geographical and other periodicals as well as in separate publications. Much of this has been consulted, and the following should be acknowledged :—

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
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(2) RÉCHERCHES SUR LA DISTRIBUTION DE LA POPULATION EN CORSE.
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COMMUNICATIONS.

THE LATE SIR JOHN COCKBURN.

THE death of Sir John Cockburn, in November last, removes another from the few that remain of the group of distinguished people who, by giving their adhesion to the Sociological Society at its very inception, imparted to it at once impulse, direction and prestige. His interest in a strictly scientific approach to social affairs, came (as he told the present writer) from a vitalising contact with Geddes and Thomson's *THE EVOLUTION OF SEX*, a book which, during the forty years of its existence, has carried round the world a seminal influence. Its fundamental idea was the re-interpretation of evolution, alike in nature and man, in terms of a rhythm between tendencies, which at the organic level are nutritive and reproductive, and at the social level are self-regarding and other-regarding. To mention only two forerunners of this idea, there was Spencer, who applied it in a general way to the process of organic evolution, and there was Lessing, who said that while philosophers dispute as to the causes of historic change and human movements, their course is all the time being determined by hunger and love. But what gave impressiveness to Geddes and Thomson's book was the doing of two things that had not been done before. One was a sustained and systematic marshalling of illustrative fact to show how the nutritive-reproductive rhythm worked as a determinative of sex (and incidentally, as it were, also of species) throughout the whole organic series from lowly plants to highest mammals. The other distinctive feature of the book was a concluding chapter with definite suggestions as how the same principle afforded interpretative (and practical) clues to moral and social issues such as the population question, educational problems involving the relations of the sexes, and historic puzzles like the growth and decay of civilisations.

FALLING on the receptive soil of an alert young mind passing from medicine into civics and politics (Cockburn served as Mayor of his local town antecedent to his brief but brilliant political career) these ideas gave a lasting orientation to his thought, and help to explain his rich and variegated public life. Consider for instance some of the characteristic activities to which he gave himself during the forty years of public service in London, after his return from Australia as Agent-General for South Australia in 1898. He served as Chairman of the Nature Study Association and of the London Branch of the Child Study Association. He was from 1903 to 1919 chairman of the governing body of the Horticultural College for Women, at Swanley, and remained a governor till his death. Along with these peculiarly characteristic interests he combined a host of other public offices (such as vice-chairmanship of the London School of Economics and Political Science), and led a busy city life as Director of Public Companies (notably of the English, Scottish and Australia Bank and the Australian Mutual Provident Society). In private life his occupations and interests were even more rural than urban, for there was probably no week in his later busy life in which not less than half his time was spent on his farm in Kent.

IN all this strenuous interplay of manifold interests, urban and rural, scientific and practical, speculative and administrative, there developed a many-sided personality, held together and in so small measure integrated, by the formative ideas he had absorbed from the impress of his early contact with the little masterpiece of Geddes and Thomson. The proof of this contention cannot here be submitted, but its verification may be sought in his speeches and addresses to bodies like the Nature Study Association, the Child Study Association and the Sociological Society.

V. B.

THE SOCIOLOGY GROUP OF LEPLAY HOUSE.

It was not my intention originally to read to you to-night from a manuscript.* The process strikes a note of formality that I had wished to avoid. On the other hand, like a burglar under a bed, I am acutely conscious of my position and hope nobody else is. I am not in any sense of that much misused word a Sociologist; it is precisely because I am not, that the idea of a study group in Sociology has just occurred to me. I fancy that, as at a Temperance meeting, a relation of my own experience may be of use to others. I have passed through a common educational course—common that it is for young men whose parents are reasonably well off or unreasonably self-denying. That course consists of three stages—Preparatory School, Public School, Oxford. The subject selected was classics until the end of the University period. This was followed by a further educational stretch of three years spent on law. Until the age of 26—that is for one-half of the life of a normal healthy person—I was being educated all the time except for such intervals as inclination dictated. I feel strongly—though perhaps not as strongly as my tutors—that this long stretch of time should have produced better results than it has done. Outside my profession I have a knowledge of the following subjects in descending order:

English Fiction.

The English Humanist Philosophers.

The History of Athens from 500 to 404 B.C.

Homeric Archaeology.

The History of Rome from 250 B.C. to 19 A.D.

Modern English Politics—the Appearance.

The Roman Legal System.

Modern English Politics—the Reality.

The Latin and Greek Languages.

For a short while I shared an opinion—and in all seriousness I believe this opinion to be widespread—that this remarkable list represented an average if not an outstanding education. It was acquired—and the fact demands reflection—by five hours' work a day for five days a week for more than sixteen years. It demanded a number of examinations—for the last ten years of the period there was one of major importance every year with one exception. The following subjects were never touched upon in any way at all—Biology, Botany, Geology, Dancing, Painting or the playing of any musical instrument. The following were glanced at—Theology (prior to Confirmation), Geography, Chemistry and Mathematics (which for some obscure reason all also ceased at Confirmation), Drawing, Economics, and Morals, the last two of which were taught concurrently at the end of the period.

It was with this equipment that by a personal accident I first came in touch with Leplay House and first heard the word Sociology mentioned. Two conclusions can I think be drawn. First, that there is something unsound about an educational system that knows so little of Sociology. Secondly, that there is something unsound about a Sociology that can so little affect the educational system.

*This paper was read at the first meeting of the Sociology Group which met at Leplay House last month. It was then decided to hold monthly meetings of an informal nature for further study and discussion. Readers are asked to pass on this information. Inquirers will be cordially welcomed by Mr. Geoffrey Davies, the Honorary Secretary of the Group, to whom they should be addressed.

To continue with the personal illustration that appears to offer the shortest road, chosen for that reason and because I believe the case to be a representative one, civilised societies persist or fail as they are adapted or not to withstand foreign assault and, which is far more dangerous, internal dissent which if unchecked leads to reform or revolution. While the latter is civil death, even the former must be resisted as strongly by those who have built up or depend upon the existing order. This resistance in its turn can be analysed into two kinds: first repression, as in eighteenth century France or modern Russia, and secondly by diverting and canalising the stream of reform. While the first nearly always leads to disaster, the second can be almost indefinitely successful, and it is this policy which is the tradition of the English. The word policy is perhaps the wrong word as it implies too much of a continuing purpose. The course of education which I have outlined above terminated almost coincidentally with the end of an epoch in this policy. The reforming movement in England in the nineteenth century was utilitarian and individualist, drawing its inspiration from the "liberty, equality, fraternity" of the French Revolution. With incomparable skill or luck on the part of the governing class this was met not by force but by concession as in ju-jitsu and the ghost of Danton was made leader of Her Majesty's Opposition and received in all the best social circles.

THE method was simple and successful. The Radicals were assured that every one agreed with them, their less dangerous demands were conceded as a sort of guarantee of good faith and they were told that even their wildest hopes would be realised in the course of a few centuries. The genius of the Englishman, they were informed, lay in evolution not in revolution and freedom in our happy clime slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent.

As an instance,* visualise Mr. Lloyd George with Tom Ellis beside him in Wales in 1895 and the same man partnered with Hamar Greenwood in Ireland in 1920. But while the Jacobin storm troops were fraternising over tea-cups, another attack was taking form behind them and Socialism had already become a danger to privilege. This danger falsely appeared far more formidable than the first. In reality it was far less so since it was based on intellect and preached by scholars while Jacobinism was a creature of instinct, or, if you will, belief, and expounded by demagogues and mobs. Men will die to free men from their chains but not so willingly to establish economic and political parity. "The Republic" makes a better battle cry than "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

STILL the danger was a real one and began to be generally appreciated that the nature of the attack was changed, within my own political memory. It is curiously irritating to reflect that just after the War, when I was a Socialist, I was continually informed that without competition civilisation was impossible and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, short; whereas to-day, now that our rulers have accepted Socialism and I have abandoned it, I am exhorted to co-operate in preventing useless and wasteful competition. The cry now is "rationalisation not nationalisation," and that cry is stamped by the same genius as "evolution not revolution."

I HAVE indicated very briefly and inadequately what I believe to be the main defects in the training of the individual citizen to-day and of the society in which he must live. I will try and compress this double analysis—

*This instance is not extended as praise of Mr. Lloyd George at any stage of his remarkable career.

- (a) The educated man is a creature of Metropolis cut off as never before from all contact with reality. He is enmeshed in technicalities. He is never trained to form a synthetic view of his world, or rather is hampered by ignorance or prevented by fear from doing so. Thus his whole mind works on verbal lines and is governed by opinion as expressed in writing or speech. He never reaches knowledge which comes from an informed study of facts.
- (b) The Society in which that man lives, which moulds him to this pattern, is in turn moulded by him. Like him it is based on opinion. Cruelties and oppressions which a strong tyrant would justify or remedy are explained or concealed by sophistry or lies. All debate in politics or economics is so mere opinion. Theories of reform are evolved out of air and argued with useless and ludicrous zeal.

All our leaders tell us how they think man should live and what he should enjoy. Very rarely is any attempt made to find out what are his needs and what his desires. So we see a chattering crowd of slaves who at leisure in their prison yard, crown or crucify the poor sophists who harangue them and at labour with breaking backs heap up the crazy pyramid of credit on which to enthrone their masters.

How then is Sociology to face the problem? First, I believe by facing not in rhetoric, as I have written above, but with a cold and medical attention the growing decadence of society. Secondly, by a laborious and continuous acquisition of facts as in the survey. Thirdly, having recognised the disease, having catalogued the symptoms, by preaching in and out of season the explanation and interpretation that Sociology affords.

THE study before us to-day is modern man in his environment, bearing always in mind the fundamental doctrine that these two elements can never be separated, for man forms as he is formed by his environment; they are related as closely as the convex and concave sides of an umbrella.

FIRST, then, as to man. Here we must endeavour to employ the sciences of the ethnologist to describe and of the historian to explain the trousered Lord of Creation in the streets. Moralists, Philosophers and Theologians must indicate to us the ideals at which he should aim. Close and divinal contact should be maintained with as many and as varied actual men and women as is possible in order to check theories in those directions. Through all this should be followed the double classification of naturally conditioned types—miner, farmer, fisher—and of that division into Poets, Prigs, Pirates and People bequeathed to us by our founder.

SECONDLY we come to the environment studied most easily though even so at an infinite cost of labour and time by the methods of the Regional Survey drawing on all natural and political sciences. Here, and I express a personal opinion, our task is to study, explain and alleviate the great tragedy of our civilisation.

How? Oh, any way. Yes, but how?

GEOFFREY DAVIES.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE SOCIAL INSECTS, THEIR ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION: by William Morton Wheeler. (Kegan Paul.) 1928. 21s.

SOCIOLOGISTS, as Professor Wheeler himself allows, are inclined to turn from the study of the social animals with disdain. But the biologist, well aware that biology is basic for sociology (although not, of course, all sufficient) has a right to ask that the sociologist's attitude shall be a knowledgeable one. Of all infra-human societies those of the social insects are at once the most complex and most amazing. To their nature, origin and evolution, Professor W. M. Wheeler of Harvard—one of the most able of contemporary investigators—has devoted the dozen or so lectures which make up this book—lectures originally delivered in Paris in 1925.

SOCIAL organisation at various levels has been found to occur in at least thirty different groups belonging to eight widely differing orders of insects—beetles, bees, ants and wasps (Hymenoptera), earwigs, crickets, termites, and several others. Twelve of these thirty groups have become "definitely social." Professor Wheeler concentrates on the wasps, bees, ants and termites, where insect societies are seen at their highest level.

THEY are very ancient societies these. In comparison, human society is an evolutionary development of yesterday. From far back in Tertiary times a legacy of a bygone insect fauna is available in the Baltic amber "locked up hermetically in its gem-like tomb," as Hugh Miller said. Of ants alone nearly all the living sub-families are represented. Their ways "were nearly, if not quite, as advanced as those of existing forms." Many had already learned to tend plant lice and a block of amber in the Königsberg collection shows a number of worker ants with what have been picturesquely described as their aphid "cows."

INSECT societies are families—enormous families—with a queen who is little more than an egg-laying machine, or, as in termites, with a king and queen. Generally speaking, however, males count for little save as accessories to reproduction. Various "castes" of workers constitute the great bulk of the population. These are usually sterile females who manage the affairs of the society. More rarely several of these family states may be associated in a community.

PROFESSOR WHEELER shows that the social insects, ancient as they are, have evolved from solitary insect ancestors and "essentially the same type of social organisation and behaviour has been independently attained by at least a dozen different groups." The activities of the solitary ancestors—nest-making and reproducing, foraging for food, &c., still constitute the chief activities of their social descendants, but there is great division of labour—often associated with marked bodily changes, such as the enormously distended abdomen of the termite queen and the quaint appearance of various castes of ant workers. The queen specialises in reproduction, the workers specialise "in providing the necessary food and accommodation for the young. In prolific species these latter functions are so exacting that a further caste—the soldiers—may be developed to take over the defence of the society as a whole." Guests and parasites there are in plenty, taking advantage of the shelter and food supply which the social organisation of their hosts ensures. They are chiefly other insects and some of the most interesting pages of this book are devoted to them.

THE growth and well-being of the society hinge on the supply of food which is scrupulously investigated and carefully utilised. So important is the food question that in the acquisition and profitable disposal of food stuffs, Professor Wheeler finds a key to much of the complex and bewildering behaviour of the social insects. It is not surprising to find that taste and smell are of great account. Honey bees, for example, "employ as means of communication the adventitious odours of nectar and pollen adhering to their bodies."

THE astoundingly "clever" behaviour of insects has been from time immemorial a source of amazement to mankind and no one would say that it has yet been entirely explained. But it is quite clear that in the present state of knowledge insect behaviour must be regarded as in the main *instinctive*, where instinct means an inborn capacity for doing particular things in particular circumstances. It might be called automatic, were there not often a subjective side to it, a sort of faint awareness. Occasionally the instinctive behaviour may be modified by a spark of intelligence.

WHILE recognising the difficulties of interpreting the social behaviour of insects, Professor Wheeler does not, we think, make it sufficiently clear that fundamentally it is instinctive. He dislikes the word instinct, and we sympathise with him, for it is a biological term which has been much abused by non-biologists. He has come, he tells us, to prefer "appetite" or "appetition" as used by Fouillée and various modern psychologists. This is a pity, for it is confusing to bring into the discussion of insect behaviour a term which does not seem to add anything and belongs to the study of man, whose *social* apartness cannot be made too clear.

WE would emphasise, therefore, the instinctive nature of insect behaviour because it is in this that the social insect and the social human differ fundamentally. The wonderful social behaviour of ant or bee is almost entirely an inherited set of fixed responses to standard stimuli. There is little learning, little ability to cope with situations other than normal. Only as a rarity is the essential rigidity of the instinctive behaviour broken. With division of labour and the bodily specialisations of different castes the tyranny of instincts in control is all the more evident. Man has really very little in the way of instincts as defined above. His behaviour rests on a quite different basis—that of intelligence. He inherits no "effortless but limited stock of inborn modes of behaviour," but an educable intellect instead with immense possibilities of learning. The plasticity of his mental make-up is as marked as is the rigidity of the little brain type and is in striking contrast to it. Thus he is socially a creature of very different quality. He can learn his special part in the community—can learn moreover several parts and pass from one to another as may be desirable. And this educability and his use of tools allow of a societary development where the division of labour which makes for social success is achieved without the psychical and physical handicaps to the individual which social organisation on an instinctive basis has involved.

THE mental flexibility of man has other advantages individual and social, but we wish to point out that there is a radical difference between the mind of the man and that of the insect apart from their bodily architecture, a difference of cardinal evolutionary importance and specially to be remembered in seeking to estimate the ways of insect societies.

PROFESSOR WHEELER has an unfortunate weakness for terms and, despite his tilt at the "truly Germanic ponderosity" of the terms devised by Degeener

for his categories, he himself uses far too many awkward words in this book. Written by a master of his subject, it is a book interesting to many another than the entomological specialist and in the next edition a glossary would be a boon. We have yet to learn that it is more scientific to use one unfamiliar long word rather than two or three familiar short ones: for example, to take one instance at random out of a hundred, "myrmecographer" (student of ants); and is it really necessary to use "anti-dzierzonists," even though there may be a Dzierzon law?

R. M. NEILL.

GREEK MEDICINE; being extracts illustrative of medical writers from Hippocrates to Galen. Translated and annotated by Athur J. Brock, M.D. London: Dent & Sons Ltd. pp. xii+256. 1929. 5s.

MANY years ago a former President of the Classical Association and one of the leading physicians of his day, Sir William Osler, declared that modern medicine was a product of the Greek intellect and in particular of the critical sense and sceptical attitude of the Hippocratic school.

THE truth of Osler's statement is amply confirmed by the latest addition to the Library of Greek thought by Dr. Arthur Brock, who has appropriately dedicated his work to his compatriot, Dr. Francis Adams (1796—1861), the country practitioner who won a world-wide reputation by his translation for the Sydenham Society of Paulus Aegineta, the genuine works of Hippocrates, and Aretæus of Cappadocia.

THE present work contains translations of carefully-chosen passages not only from the medical writers, Hippocrates, Rufus of Ephesus, Galen and Aetius, but also the accounts of the Pestilence at Athens in 480 B.C. by Thucydides and of the Plague among the Carthaginians in 397 by Diodorus Siculus, psychological extracts from Plato and biological extracts from Aristotle.

THE passages from Hippocrates include the well-known Doctors' Oath selections from *Airs, Waters and Places*, which deal with the influence of Environment on Organism, the "*Epidemics*" in which the meteorological "constitutions" of certain years and the diseases which occurred in them are described, the "*Prognostic*" or art of medical prognosis, and surgical extracts which contain one of the earliest descriptions of bloodless surgery. THE passages from Rufus of Ephesus, who is described by Dr. Brock as one of the greatest of the immediate predecessors of Galen, deal with the method of examining a patient and anatomical nomenclature. The selections from Galen which form the bulk of the translated passages deal with contemporary medical sects, anatomical considerations, prognosis, epilepsy, the preservation of health and the relation of the mental faculties to the bodily constitution.

THE translations are preceded by a general introduction in which Dr. Brock gives an excellent account of Greek medicine before Hippocrates, the schools of Cnidos and Cos, Greek medicine in Rome, a description of Galen's life and work and his importance in the history of medicine.

DR. BROCK is to be warmly congratulated for having produced a work which will appeal not only to the medical historian, but also to the general reader who wishes to have a clear exposition of scientific teaching of Ancient Greece.

J. D. ROLLESTON.

MANCHESTER AT WORK, A SURVEY: Edited by Professor Henry Clay and K. Russell Brady. Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester. (Paper 1s.)

THE SOUL OF MANCHESTER: Edited by W. H. Brindley. Manchester University Press. 1929. (6s.)

THE first book is "a short survey of our present position as a manufacturing and marketing centre and . . . a study of the city's industrial position." Professor G. W. Daniels contributes a chapter on Manchester in Retrospect; and this is followed by chapters on Commercial Situation and Economic Relations, Economic Resources, Industries, Textile Export Trade and Manchester as a Market. There are thirty charts and diagrams. A chapter on Manchester institutions outlines matters more fully dealt with in the second volume.

MANCHESTER is stocktaking. "Other producing countries are extending their export trade at the expense of Lancashire." Roughly speaking, Lancashire has lost about one-third of its export trade. There is stock-taking also of another kind. We are told of "thousands of workers living in dingy unfinished streets, of hastily-constructed houses built under the shadow of chimneys belching forth volumes of deleterious gases and clouds of black smoke." The task of clearance is said to be "great and almost hopeless."

THE second book has been prepared and published to commemorate the meeting in Manchester this year of the Society of Chemical Industry. The editor says that the idea was to attempt a portrayal of the more salient features of the city's life, and claims that even if incomplete it reflects, in some measure at least, the spirit of Manchester. It certainly does this, and, considering its immediate purpose, more could hardly be expected of it. Its title was suggested by the Earl of Crawford's fascinating lecture: "The Soul of Cities," which is included in the volume; and a visitor to Manchester, who wishes to get an idea of its organisation and ambitions, would find the volume of great value. Contributors include Sir Henry Miers ("Some Characteristics of Manchester Men"), Sir Michael Sadler ("The Story of Education in Manchester"), Professor F. E. Weiss ("The University of Manchester"), Professor C. H. Herford ("Literary Manchester"), and authoritative information is given about various societies and institutions.

LORD CRAWFORD warns us that "a town is a very secretive personage. At first we may think that its character is easily defined; but be cautious. There are contradictions and diversities which may lead us astray in our assessment of man or city; and the city seldom reveals its character to the first impression." A city, like a man, changes in character. It may fall from grace, and then be converted, and the new Adam battle with what is left of the old. The "Manchesterthum" of to-day is not that of thirty or forty years ago. When Manchester was mentioned recently to a Cotswold peasant he said, "That's where the money is"; and Manchester and money are regarded by many people as synonymous. The volume before us corrects this impression. The fate of a city like Manchester is determined, not within its own borders, but by the needs of the world: hence the necessity for constant vigilance and enterprise. To revive its falling fortunes it built a canal to bring ships from the sea over thirty miles away; but foreign competition increases, and, as we have already seen, Manchester seems to have permanently lost one-third of its cotton export market. One half of Manchester has been competing with the other half, the engineers making and exporting the machinery that competes with the machinery

made at home. The man to whom, more than to any other, the Manchester College of Technology owes its existence, the late Alderman Sir James Hoy, who, by a strange oversight, is not mentioned in this volume, said once to the present writer, himself a Manchester man, that he had put his back into the creation of the College, and made it his lifework, because he dreaded what would happen to the vast population of Manchester and its neighbouring towns if they were beaten in the competition for the world's markets. We know to-day that his fears were not unfounded.

BIG industry endangers, indeed, often sacrifices priceless human values. How this was done in the early days of the cotton trade is common knowledge; and the process has not been more than mitigated in later years. The chapter on social service shows what has been done by public and voluntary effort.

J. E. PHYTHIAN.

RACE AND POPULATION PROBLEMS; by Hannibal G. Duncan.
London: Longmans. 1929. 10s. 6d.

THIS volume by the Associate Professor of Sociology in the University of North Carolina is designed as a general introduction to population problems. The author's aim has been "to combine the old type of textbook with the more recent type of book of readings," and so to inform the student of the opinions of numerous scholars, without committing him to any single one of them.

IN *The Problem of Races*—the first of the two books into which the text is divided—he follows this course in chapters dealing with human origins; the formation and classification of races; problems of heredity and eugenics; racial inferiority, superiority and amalgamation. The dysgenic effects of war and religion on population are reviewed and attention given to Culture and its diffusion, both organised and unorganised.

THE second book—*The Problem of Numbers*—after discussing the work of Malthus and the theories formulated before and after him, passes from an analysis of the population of the earth and the kindred themes of fecundity and fertility, to a consideration of positive and preventive methods of population control among preliterate peoples. Final chapters deal with the modern birth control movement and the relation of population to the food supply.

IN addition to lists of selected references, the appendix contains questions and exercises based on each chapter.

G.C.G.

THE IDEA OF VALUE: by J. Laird. Cambridge University Press.
1929. 18s.

THE existence of "values" in human experience, and, in particular, the suggestion of Idealism that certain features of that experience possess an intrinsic or absolute "value," have given rise to endless metaphysical discussion in recent years. Attempts to explain value in terms of utility, biological needs, social purposes, have proved plausible up to a point, but have never been wholly convincing. This work of Professor Laird, therefore, will be of considerable interest to philosophers, coming as it does from one who has expounded the doctrine of Realism so forcibly. It is a scholarly work, it envisages the question from every relevant angle, and it takes cognisance of all the important views put forward of late years.

PROFESSOR LAIRD is to be congratulated on a masterly exposition, which will enhance his already notable reputation in metaphysics.

I. LEVINE.

DER AUFBAU DER SOZIALEN WELT : EIN ZEITALTER DER WISSENSCHAFT. UMRISSE EINER SOZIOLOGISCHEN STRUKTURLEHRE von Prof. Dr. David Koigen. Berlin : Carl Heymanns Verlag. 1929. pp. 146. (M.7.)

IN this volume Prof. Koigen outlines a sociology which he regards as fundamental, and which he hopes will give a new conception of the social world and of the sociological sciences as mathematics and physics have given a new orientation in the natural sciences.

AN extremely interesting historical survey, which forms the first of the three sections of his book, traces the beginnings and development of sociology from Descartes onward, and classifies the methods and directions of modern sociological thought. Varied as these are, he points out that they have one feature in common. They do not deal with the immediate, tangible social "reality"; their point of departure is rather a series of complete ready-made complexes such as Community, Society, State, Party, or cultural currents as Islam and Christianity. The common tendency is to end in a rigid social conception; their methods are macroscopic.

THE proposed structure, on the other hand, is based on microscopic methods. The continuous movement, the never ceasing building-up, dissolution and re-formation which, when integrated, make up the social world, is studied *in statu nascendi*. Attention is focussed on social actions, actions beyond the radius of individual activity. Strip such an action of its human motives and "values" and it is revealed as a purely social one with certain modes and laws of its own. In the two later sections the author works out a system of principles for the classification of such actions, and of the structure of the social world based on the categories thus obtained.

L. CRAMER.

BAU UND GLIEDERUNG DER MENSCHENGRUPPEN : by M. Graf zu Solms. Karlsruhe : G. Braun. 1929. (M.5.)

THERE are three chapters in this volume. The first is concerned with the urge that leads to the formation of a group having an aim and psychological character of its own. The second deals with its sociological structure, and with the relationship that exists among different groups and the nature of their reactions upon each other. The functioning of the group through its chiefs and lawgivers is considered in the third chapter. By analysing the qualities that make for leadership the author brings us into touch with many problems of the present day. A series of tables enables the reader to follow the main stages of the argument. It is noteworthy that a second volume is in course of preparation.

V. LOUIS.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA : by Dr. E. Bode and Dr. A. Paul. Diesterweg Verlag. Frankfurt. 1929.

THIS volume is an abridgment and recasting of the authors' *SEEDS AND FRUITS* which appeared in the autumn of 1925. It is a compendious summary of contemporary English and American life in the form of brief sketches from the works of observers in these countries. There are chapters on national character, social and economic organisation, religion and philosophy, and constitutional and political studies. The text has been carefully annotated, and the notes on authors should encourage further inquiry and research among senior German students for whom the book has been compiled.

R. G.

LA JUSTICE PÉNALE D'AUJOURD'HUI: by H. Donnedieu de Vabres. Published by the Librairie Armand Colin, Paris. Price 9 francs.

THIS book is one of a series which corresponds with our Home University Library, and, if the others are as good, the publishers are turning out first-class work. Here we are given not merely a description of the system of administering justice in France, but a clear exposition of the principles of law underlying that system.

ONE discovers that, when all the surface differences have been examined, there is in civilised states a large fundamental similarity of ideas as to justice, as to the scope of the criminal law, and its operation upon society, though in the application methods vary.

BUT even the underlying notions vary in places. The classical poser of the theft of food by the mother for the benefit of the starving child receives in France a different solution from ours. We should find the facts proved, but "having regard to the extenuating circumstances under which the offence was committed" decide that it was "inexpedient to inflict any punishment." The French court would dismiss the charge altogether, not without a word of praise from the good judge for the good mother.

THE French procedure is what is called, without any sinister connotation, the inquisitorial, as opposed to the English and American procedure which, again without the harsher shade of meaning, is known as contentious. The distinguishing mark of each system is the rôle played by the judge. In the inquisitorial he is the principal agent for eliciting the truth. Both the examining magistrate and the trial judge question the accused, and their efforts are only supplemented by those of counsel. In the contentious—and here it has to be remembered that primitive lawsuits sometimes actually took the form of private war regulated by judicial umpires—the parties do actually contend, each setting forth to the court his view of the facts and the law, each calling witnesses, and each attacking the testimony of the other side. The judge umpires. In some of the United States this is literally the whole of his function, but in England he does more, for he directs the jury where there is one. Even in the preliminary stages our "examining magistrates" are judicial persons.

THERE is much to be said for each system. The contentious happens to have got the upper hand here, but opinion and practice wavered a long time before it was definitely established. The English system has affected the French, by enlarging the part played by the party aggrieved.

PRINCIPLES of law, practice in administration, penal methods, are the three great branches dealt with in the book. We have spoken of the first two; we pass the third in silence. It is exactly the matter in which lay readers should be most interested and upon which they should think most for themselves. It is, inevitably, closely bound up with the other two. Throughout, the student must bear in mind the concluding words of the author, that he is dealing with a problem which is before all a moral one.

ALBERT LIECK.

MONEY, CREDIT OF THE FUTURE, AND OTHER ESSAYS:
by A. H. Mackmurdo. King & Sons, 1929. pp. 87. 2s. 6d.

In the first and longest essay, "From Barbaric to Civilised Money," Mr. Mackmurdo says that the trouble with the monetary system is that it "is founded on a purely subjective notion of 'value,'" by which he apparently

means that the value of things is conditioned by what they will fetch rather than what they have cost. But this all depends on circumstances: value is determined by two factors, cost of production and the relation of supply to demand; if the latter be unity, then the value concerned is purely *objective*.

SINCE human energy is "the surplus product of the energising foodstuffs consumed," Mr. Mackmurdo assumes that money,

"in order to act as a measure of value, must be fixedly related to the foodstuffs consumed, which are a true measure of every other marketable thing in which food has been embodied by the expenditure of human energy."

But if he will examine the charts in the Report on Wholesale and Retail Prices, 1871—1902, he will find that wheat and rice, which he proposes to take as representative of foodstuffs, have diverged from the course of the general index as much as the average commodity, and producers other than wheat growers would thus be no better off than at present. Moreover, man does not live by bread alone. In the present state of the world other materials are just as important as foodstuffs, and the proportion of wheat to total consumption diminishes as the standard of living improves. Thus to limit the issue of currency to the value of wheat and rice would result in a fall of prices in all other fields. Indeed Mr. Mackmurdo's first step involves reducing to £80 million, the legal tender "circulation" of £360 million—which he gives incorrectly as £278 million—and all that he has to say to the above objection is that "we have not here to consider the monetary volume of *exchanges* between goods and services, since these are outside those forms of effort which are strictly purchased and sold," and that there is "no known relation between the volume of legal tender money and purchases"! But should there be "inconvenience through a shortage of money for cash payments," this can be remedied by an issue of "supplemental money," which "cannot alter the general purchasing power of the standard money." Why not? The "standard" money is only standard in terms of wheat, just as our present currency is only standard in terms of gold, and there is nothing to prevent the purchasing power of either from fluctuating when the flow of credit does not keep pace with that of commodities. But Mr. Mackmurdo will not allow this:

"Credit instruments may be increased or decreased to any extent without altering the purchasing power of money" (p. 32) and "credit has no relation to prices. On this point we must be very clear" (p. 52).

He presents no argument or data in support of this extraordinary theory, and an assertion does not necessarily imply clarity. Indeed on the same page he refers to restriction of credit restricting production without apparently realising that this restriction works through forcing down prices, not that a reduction in the note issue is consequential to the fall. The only other point in Mr. Mackmurdo's thesis is a distinction between "national" and international money in the vein of the followers of Major Phipson. If the advocates of this theory wish to treat their case properly, they should follow the lines of the admirable sketch given by C. Dampier Whetham in *POLITICS AND THE LAND*. At present their propaganda is neither accurate nor practical.

THE other two essays are entitled "The Case for Agriculture" and "The Sovereignty of the Social Interests."

GEOFFREY BIDDULPH.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY	September, November.
ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY	September, November.
ARCHIV FÜR KRIMINOLOGIE	October, December.
ARCHIV FÜR SOZIALWISSENSCHAFT UND SOZIAL POLITIK	Vol. 62 : Parts 2 & 3.
ARHIVA PENTRU STIINTA SI REFORMA SOCIALA	Vol. 8 : Part 4.
ASIATIC REVIEW	October.
BOY	November.
CHINESE ECONOMIC JOURNAL	September, October, November.
COMMONWEALTH	August, September, October, November, December.
COUNTRYMAN	October.
ECONOMIC REVIEW (KYOTO UNIVERSITY)	July.
EUGENICS REVIEW	October.
FORUM OF EDUCATION	February, June, 1928 and 1929 ; November, 1928.
GARDEN CITIES AND TOWN PLANNING	October, November, December.
GEOGRAPHY	September, December.
GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW	October.
HINDUSTAN REVIEW	September, October-November, December.
INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION	September, October, November December.
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW	October, November, December.
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURE	June, September, October, November, December.
JOURNAL OF ADULT EDUCATION	October.
JOURNAL OF HEREDITY	August, September.
JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY	October.
JOURNAL OF LONDON SOCIETY	October, November, December.
JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY	October.
KÖLNER VIERTELJAHRSHEFTE FÜR SOZIOLOGIE	Vol. 8 : Part 2.
LEAGUE OF NATIONS (MONTHLY SUMMARY)	September, November.
MAN	October, November, December.
MILLGATE MONTHLY	August, September, October, November, December.
MONIST	October.
MUSÉE SOCIAL	September, October, November, December.
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW	November, December.
NUOVI STUDI	July-August, September-October.
OKONOMI OG POLITIK	November.
OPEN COURT	September, October, November, December.
POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY	September, December.
PROGRESS	October-December.
QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS	November.
QUEST	October.
REVISTA DE DERECHO Y CIENCIAS SOCIALES	July.
REVUE DE L'INSTITUT DE SOCIOLOGIE	July-September.
REVUE DES ETUDES COOPÉRATIVES	July-September, October-December.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE	July-August, September-October.
RIVISTA DI SOCIOLOGIA : MILAN	October-December.
RIVISTA INTERNAZIONALE	September, October-December.
SBORNÍK (ANNALS OF THE CZECH ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE)	Vol. 4 : Part 3.
SCIENTIA	October, November, December.
SCHOOL NATURE STUDY	October.
SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE	September, November.
SOCIAL FORCES	June, September, December.
SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS	October, November, December.
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW	October, November, December.
UKRAINE	Part 3.
VESTNÍK (BULLETIN OF THE CZECH ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE)	Parts 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
VIERTELJAHRSSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIAL-UND WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE	Vol. 22 : Part 2.
WELFARE WORK	December.
WELTWIRTSCHAFTLICHES ARCHIV	October.
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE GESAMTE STAATSWISSENSCHAFT	Vol. 87 : Part 2.
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR VOLKERPSYCHOLOGIE UND SOZIOLOGIE	December.